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VOLUME II.

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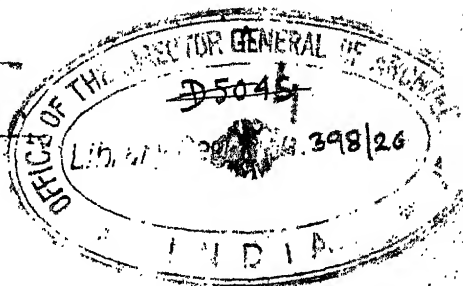
THE
DOMICILED HINDUS

BY
RĀI BAHĀDUR DĪWAN JAMIAT RĀI, C.I.E.

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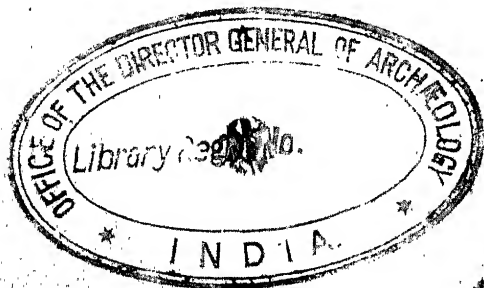
PREFACE.

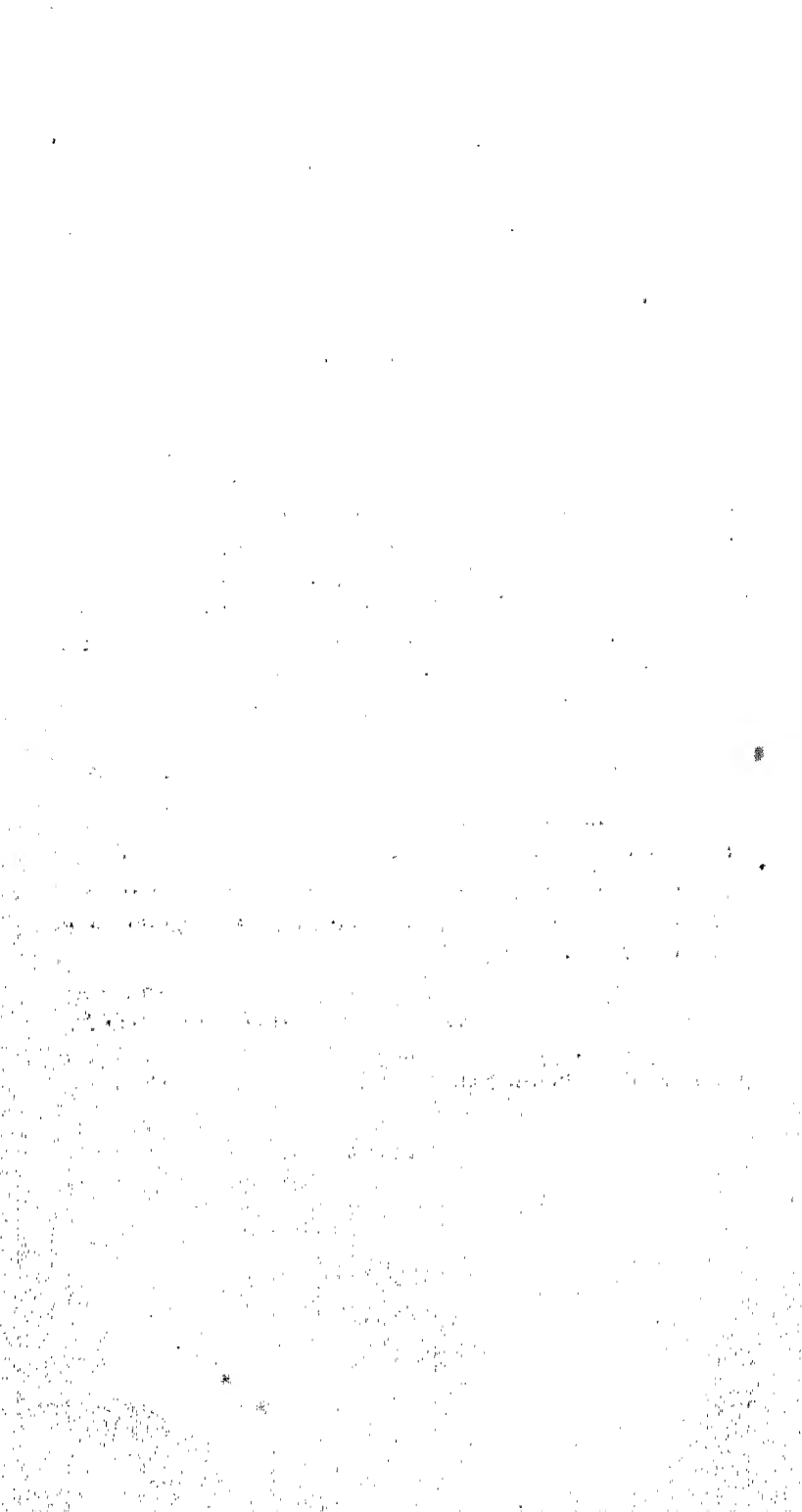
These monographs, which were put together in the course of the last Baluchistān census; chiefly with the object of furnishing material for my report, are very much in the rough. But though I have not found time to check them as thoroughly as I should have liked—my departure on leave has even prevented me from seeing them through the press—I have decided to publish them not merely because they seem to contain a certain amount of useful matter; but because they will serve as a beginning to the belated ethnographic survey of Baluchistān.

To my mind the most valuable paper in the series is the article on the domiciled Hindus which Rāi Bahādur Diwān Jamiat Rāi has very kindly placed at my disposal, thereby putting the finishing touch to his invaluable co-operation in my researches.

DENYS BRAY.

April 24th, 1913.





FOREWORD.

My long sojourn in Balūchistān, and my connection with the last two censuses of the Province and the preparation of the Provincial and District Gazetteers have enabled me to make a study of the social and religious life of the domiciled Hindus under circumstances of exceptional advantage. The result of this study is the material on which this monograph is based.

The draft was very kindly examined by Lieut.-Colonel A. L. Duke, I.M.S., Chief Medical Officer, Balūchistān, and emerged from his hands considerably improved. For this kindly help I am indebted to him. It was then revised and edited by Mr. Denys Bray, I.C.S., late Superintendent of Census Operations in Balūchistān. It was mainly in obedience to his wishes that I had undertaken this work, and he took great interest in every stage of its preparation and gave me his most valuable advice. I take this opportunity to tender my grateful thanks to him.

My knowledge of the customs and manners of the Hindus of India is second-hand only. I received my early education and training in a frontier district and have lived in Balūchistān for the last thirty years in complete isolation from kinsfolk in the Punjab. I have therefore had to rely on external help and the authorities I have consulted are quoted in the attached list.

I have also to acknowledge with thanks the valuable help I received from Rāi Sāhib Lāla Ladhā Rām Nanda, Lāla Lachhman Dāss Sēthi and Pandit Rikhi Kēsh of the local Sanātan Dharm Sabhā.

JAMIAT RĀI.

QUETTA, }
9th June 1913. }

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THE DOMICILED HINDUS.

1. Baluchistan is a purely Muhammadan country, the Muhammadans representing, according to the census of 1911, 93·8 per cent. of the entire population.

Introductory.

The total number of Hindus enumerated in the Province in 1911, was 37,602 : males 25,008, females 12,594. To these should be perhaps added 8,390 Sikhs : males 6,017, females 2,373, in which case the total is 45,992 : males 31,025, females 14,967.

2. The majority (28,208) of these Hindus are aliens, chiefly traders in towns and cantonments, artisans and those in

Alien Hindus.

service in the army, in the various Civil and Military Departments, and on the Railway. These represent: 22,617 Hindus (males 16,886, females 5,731), and 5,591 Sikhs (4,580 males, 1,011 females). Though this note deals solely with the domiciled Hindus, a few words will not be out of place in respect of the alien Hindus. By religion the majority

are Sanātanists, a term meant to include various phases of the Hindu faith, with some Sikhs, and a few Arya and Brahmo Samājists.

	Total.	Males.	Females.
Sanātanists ...	21,893	16,430	5,463
Sikhs ...	5,591	4,580	1,011
Arya Samājists ...	674	431	243
Brahmos ...	50	25	25
Total ...	28,208	21,466	6,742

But in respect of both their religious and social practices these alien Hindus draw their inspiration from the communities in India to which they originally belong and from which they are only temporarily separated. Few, if any, are permanently settled. Nevertheless separated from their kinsfolk and breathing freer air, they have more liberty; and those among them more especially who are Neo-Hindus put

their broader principles in practice in domestic and other ceremonies. In Quetta and other important centres they have their *mandirs*, places of worship, where they generally meet on Sundays for prayer. Those whom circumstances have thrown into the heart of the country have been obliged to adapt themselves to their environment and in some degree to cast off some of their caste restrictions. There have been cases, though rare, of divorce, of remarriage of the divorced women, of widow remarriages and of intermarriages between castes, such as Khattris with Brahmans; Khattris with Sunārās, which would probably not have been tolerated in those parts of India to which the parties belonged. Among the educated classes prejudices in regard to eating and drinking seem to be on the wane, and many of them have no hesitation in dining at a Refreshment Room served by Muhammadans or Christians, or in partaking of bread, biscuits, cakes and aerated waters prepared by Muhammadans; while social gatherings in which Hindus, Musalmāns and Christians partake of refreshments at one and the same table are not uncommon. They do not hesitate to drink water from a Musalmān's water skin (*khalli*), they occasionally use the cooking pots of the tribesmen, and in times of necessity partake, without compunction, of the food prepared by tribeswomen. The writer remembers spending a day at a Rest-house, in the heart of the Kākar country, about two miles from the nearest village. The entire population of this isolated place consisted of a local Pathān watchman, a Panjābi sweeper with his wife and a four year old daughter, a Muhammadan Telegraph Line Rider with his wife, and a Panjābi Hindu Postmaster with his wife and a three year old daughter. Being thrown together the two girls, the daughter of the Hindu Postmaster and the daughter of the sweeper, became such chums that they spent the greater part of the day playing together, sitting on the same bedstead, sometimes walking hand in hand, while their parents not only raised no objections but seemed to encourage and enjoy the friendship of these innocent children. In the course of conversation the writer

was told that the Postmaster's wife had been ill for a fortnight, attended and nursed by the sweeper woman. It may be safely assumed that in those days these families were never struck by the idea that by race or religion they were not both Hindus.

On another occasion the writer met an orthodox Hindu Paṭwāri from the Punjāb employed for about four months in a distant tahsil, who acknowledged that during the whole four months he had not once cooked his own food but had partaken freely of the food provided by tribeswomen.

The aliens have not so far been able to impress the domiciled Hindus with the spirit of the new Hindu religious movements, and the Arya and Brahmo Samājes are recruited chiefly from Punjābis in the service of Government. The Sanātanists, however, have been able in Quetta and other central places to draw the attention of their domiciled co-religionists to the fact that some of their social practices are not in accord with the orthodox views, and there appears to be some slight tendency to alter such practices in respect of eating and drinking. Similarly some of the Punjābi Sikhs—the *Tat Khālsās*—have been able to impress upon their co-religionists the absolute necessity of eating *jhatka* meat (slain according to Sikh rites) instead of *halāl* (slain according to the orthodox *Islāmic* fashion), though these views have not found favour with the domiciled Hindus.

3. The total number of the domiciled Hindus recorded during the census of 1911 was

The domiciled Hindus. 17,784: males 9,559, females 8,225. They form considerable communities in some of the big villages in the Native State area; and there is hardly an important settlement without a *bakḥkhāl* or *wānṛia* of its own. These latter, however, leave their families at their head-quarters when they go on their periodical visits to their places of business. Those who trade and have shops in *Khurāsān* among the *Brāhūis* move down to

Kachhī with the tribesmen for the winter and return with them to Khurāsān in the spring.

4. The distribution of these
Present habitat. Hindus in 1911 was as follows:—

I. Administered area.

			Total.	Males.	Females.
1.	Quetta-Pishin District	...	283	163	120
2.	Zhōb District	... ..	4	2	2
3.	Sibi District	... ..	2,789	1,548	1,241
4.	Lōralai District	... ..	1,347	740	607
5.	Bōlān Pass and Railway Dist.		1	1	...
6.	Chāgai District	... ..	199	137	62
Total			4,623	2,591	2,032

II. Native States.

1.	Kalāt...	...	...	11,699	6,174	5,525
	(a) Jhalawān	...	...	329	251	78
	(b) Sarāwān	...	...	832	479	353
	(c) Kachhī	...	...	8,020	4,139	3,881
	(d) Dōmbkī and Kahēri					
	country	...	...	2,430	1,235	1,195
	(e) Makfāh	...	...	23	22	1
	(f) Khārān	...	...	45	28	17
2.	Las Bēla	...	...	1,462	794	668
Total				13,161	6,968	6,193
Grand Total				17,784	9,559	8,225

5. Many of these Hindus have no very clear idea as to their original habitat, and even those who feel pretty certain on this point can assign no definite period for their immigration. The *Mukhi* (headman) of Lahri, who professes to belong to the oldest Hindu family of the locality,

when asked about the original home of his ancestors, gravely said that his forefathers came with the Balōch hero, Mīr Chākar, from Aleppo, the traditional home of the Balōch, and he was corroborated, equally gravely, by Mīr Chākar Khān, the late Dōmbki Balōch Chief of Lahri. A little further discussion, however, showed the *mukhi* the inaccuracy of his statement, and he then said—and was supported by some of the old *panches* (leading men) present—that the forefathers of the oldest families in the place came from the *ubhā*, a term meant to indicate the country comprising the districts of Multān, Dēra Ghāzi Khān and the Bahāwalpur State. The Kalāt Hindus, who seem to be the oldest in the Province, say that they have been in the country since the time of the Sēwā dynasty in Kalāt and that their ancestors also came from the *ubhā*. The *Bhātīs* of Las Bēla are said to have come from Sind in the year 93 A. H. (708 A. D.).

Enquiries made at the various Hindu centres seem to show that with the exception of Brahmans and *fakīrs* and of a few Sadāna and Mandan Arōra families of Nushki who claim to have come from Garmsēl in Afghānistān, most of the Hindus came either from the *ubhā* or from Sind. They thus fall into two territorial groups: Punjābis and Sindhis. The former are chiefly found in the east and in Kachhi, the Sindhis in the south, north and west and some of the central parts of the country; both elements are represented in Kachhi, Kalāt and Mastung.

The few Brahman families, mostly of the Pushkarnā and Sārsut (Sārasvat) castes, with a few Gaurs, *Āṛīs* and *sādhūs* and *fakīrs* of various descriptions, are scattered among the Hindus in various villages, and have come at different times from Sind, Mārwar and the Punjāb, and even from as far afield as Nepāl.

6. In pre-British days the position of the Hindus was one of absolute dependence. Their position. They lived on the sufferance of the State authorities or under the protection of the heads

of tribes to which they were attached. In Native States they had to pay poll-tax (*jēza*) as well as a contribution (*mālia* or *phōr*) on the occasion of the marriage of the Sardārs (chiefs) and *mōtabīrs* (leading men) and their sons, and on the death of male members of their families, and also a fixed fee when a Hindu's son was married. These contributions are still levied in parts of the Native States, and in some places the poll-tax has been converted into a shop-tax. In the Afghān (now administered) territory the Hindus had to make small presents (*lungz*) to their protectors (*gōīs*) and keep free of interest a running account for purchases made. They had to wear a distinctive dress (a red cap or a turban, red trousers or *dhōti* and generally rode donkeys, of which a fine breed is still found in Bēla and Bārkhān. *Bakhkhāls*¹ attached to tribes were considered transferable for a consideration. Thus it is stated that Pir Dād, one of the Burṛa Jāmōt *mōtabīrs* of Las Bēla, sold the Chhangani Wānṛias to Jām Mir Khān Kalān for Rs. 2,000; that the other *mōtabīrs* resented the transaction and wanted to redeem the Wānṛias and that the rupture between the Burṛas and the Jām would have been complete, had not Rabia, the *mōtabīr* of the Gunga, intervened and effected a compromise by which the Wānṛias were restored to the Burṛas.

Though the Hindus were in a state of dependence, their *gōīs* and the tribesmen helped them in every way, protecting them from aggression, settling their disputes with the tribesmen, and respecting their honour. Seldom, if ever, were their females or religious practices or prejudices interfered with by the Musalmān tribesmen, while cases of conversion to Islām were very few. Like women and children who had not put on the *partūk* (trousers), and the Lōṛis, they were unmolested in tribal feuds, unless of course they played an active part in the warfare. For dependent though they were, many of them imbibed the wild and warlike spirit of the tribesmen. Nine generations back the Burṛas of

¹ The Hindu traders are variously known as *Bakhkhāl*, *Wānṛia* or *Kirār*.

Las Bēla fought with the Khān of Kalāt at Ghaṭ in the Pab range, and 26 Burṛas and a Wānṛia named Markan were killed. And such prowess did Markan display, that his name has been memorialised in the ballad known as the *Ghaṭ-wāri-jang*. Again the so-called Kākari Hindus of Mēkhṭar in Lōṛalai shared in the good and ill of the tribe or section under whose protection they lived, and in tribal wars they had to supply gunpowder and ammunition free of cost. Dharma, the *Mukhi* of the *Panchāyat*, owns the strongest mud tower in Mēkhṭar to this day. In Bārkhān there are many stories current of the prowess displayed by the Rāmē-zai Hindus in tribal warfare, especially when Hasni Kōṭ was attacked and plundered by the Lūnis, and the Hasnis had to take shelter with the Khetrāns in Taghā, some fifty years ago.

In the administered area the Hindus have now been able to shake off their so-called disabilities and enjoy perfect freedom of action in matters religious and social. Yet they find themselves worse off in some ways, their main grievances being that women enjoy now more freedom, and that their business transactions with the tribesmen are hampered. In the good old days marriages were adult, as the women knew that life and death were in the hands of their male guardians and that the slightest suspicion of deviation from the path of virtue meant death. But now if anything untoward happens, a guilty woman has only to run to the nearest Police Station and defy her relatives. Hence the growing tendency to give away a girl in marriage before she can think for herself. Again, when the day for the payment of a debt came, the *bakḥkhal* had only to go to his *gōi* with his account book, and it was the *gōi*'s business to take immediate measures to realise the debts. The method was simple : nothing was necessary beyond the production of his *bahi* or account book ; and the entry in his own writing, which was generally attested by a headman, was proof absolute. The *gōi* would see the debtor, recover the amount in cash or kind, or put the creditor in temporary

possession of the debtor's land, and the whole matter was settled. In tribal areas of course the case was somewhat different; there the headman would recover a certain percentage amounting sometimes to a quarter of the loan recovered.

The domiciled Hindus also find that with the change they have lost some of their old trade monopoly. In pre-British days they supplied all the wants of the tribesmen, few though they were, and fixed their own prices. Now many an alien *bannia* may be seen wandering from village to village, with his donkey, and selling his goods to the annoyance of the greedy local *bannia*. Still, even now it remains to the credit of the tribesmen that they are perfectly honest with them in their transactions, and civil suits rarely come into courts from localities which are away from the District Head-quarters and out of easy reach of the petition writer, whom it pays to increase litigation.

7. Their principal languages are Jaṭki (including Jadgāli or Jagdāli and Serāeki), Khetrāni (a form of Serāeki), Sindhi, Lāsi (a form of Sindhi) and Pashtō. Jaṭki is spoken in Nasirābād, Kachhi, Lahri, Sibi, the Mari-Bugṭi country, Mastung, Kalāt and Nushki; Sindhi in Nasirābād, Kachhi, the Mari-Bugṭi country, Mastung, Kalāt and Quetta; Lāsi in Las Bēla; Khetrāni in Bārkhān, and Pashtō in Lōralai.

They also speak freely the language of the tribesmen among whom they live. Thus the Hindus of Mastung, Kalāt, Quetta and Nushki speak Brāhūi, and those of the Mari-Bugṭi country Balōchi. Among the Hindus of Duki and Mēkhtar in Lōralai most of the women and children do not know any language except Pashtō, but the men, whose business carries them to other parts of the country, also speak Jadgāli.

8. They are mostly traders, dealing chiefly in household goods, though a few both in the districts and tribal areas have acquired land by purchase or mortgage which they usually

till through tenants. Every important village or settlement has its *bannia* or *bāḥkhāl* who lives in the village and peacefully carries on his business, though in recent years the relations between *bannias* and their *gōis* have become somewhat strained and the tribesmen seem to resent being held responsible for their protection. Some deal in the export of grain, *ghī*, wool, dates and raw hides of sheep and goats; on the Las Bēla Coast some own boats and export fish. They do not charge interest on running accounts, provided the accounts are settled at the *rabī* and *khariḥ* harvests. If the accounts are not settled, two annas in the rupee is charged as interest to the next harvest. This works out to 25 per cent. per annum, and is also the usual rate on cash loans; but there are no money-lenders pure and simple. There are a few goldsmiths, masons, carpenters and dyers—all Arōṛas by caste. So if caste, or *varna* as it is called in the Shāstras, is governed by occupation, the Hindus of Balūchistān, with the exception of the priestly class of Brahmans and *fakīrs*, are decidedly Vaisyas.¹

9. Their staple articles of food are wheat, *jūārī*, rice, *dāl* (pulses), vegetables and milk; Food and drink. with the exception of Pushkarna Brahmans, *Sādhus* and those who profess the Vaishnav creed, all eat meat and fish and drink wine. On a Tuesday (the day of Hanūmān) and Ekādshi they abstain from meat. They slaughter their animals according to the Musalmān (*halāl*) fashion and not according to the Sikh *Jhaṭka*, when the animal is slaughtered with one downward stroke of sword or knife. In fact they regard *Jhaṭka* unlawful. They have a dread of fowls and eggs. There is a tradition current among the people that Chandarmān, the moon, fell in love with the wife of the Sage Gautum, who used daily to take his bath in the river at cock-crow. One day Chandarmān induced the cock to crow earlier than usual, and the Sage went earlier to the river. Then Chandarmān assumed the form of Gautum and visited his wife. And when Gautum on his return learnt

¹ Manu, Chapter 1, 97.

what had happened he cursed the cock and said:—"At irregular hours shall you crow, and all shall avoid you." This is one explanation they give for not eating fowls. Another is that as the crowing of the cock resembles the *asān* or Muhammadan call to prayers, the man that eats a fowl swallows the *asān* and thereby becomes a Musalmān.

Camel's milk is only drunk by the Hindus of Jhal. Sindhi Hindus, both men and women, usually drink country liquor freely, while men indulge also in *bhang*. Among the Panjābi Hindu women, the use of liquor is not so common. Even the Sārsut Brahmans do not refrain from meat and wine. So if the Shāstric¹ injunctions about diet have anything to do with the caste system, the local Hindus have broken many of them.

10. Both males and females wear a dress which is distinguishable from that of the Musalmāns. The men generally wear a *dhōti* (loin cloth), or red trousers; a short shirt (*chōla*) or open coat (*pairāhan*), and red turban, cap or *kullāh*. The women generally wear a *ghagha* (shift), short shirt (*chōli*), in some parts without sleeves, and a *bōchchan* or wrapper. In Mēkhtar and other villages of Bōri the Hindu women like their Kākār sisters used not to wear trousers (*shalwār*), but wore only a long shirt and wrapper. Some have now begun to wear *shalwār*. Red is preferred by both males and females. The only colours the women will not wear are black and dark-blue. Some of the Rāmēzai Hindus of Bārkhān wear black turbans.

The Hindus of Lahri, Dēra Bugṭi, Kahān, Bārkhān and Kalāt-Mastung keep their beard and clip their moustaches in orthodox Musalmān fashion; those of Kachhi, Nasirābād, Bēla, Quetta and Nushki shave their beard. The head is shaved in a conventional form, a scalp-tuft (*chōṭi*) being retained; the space round the *chōṭi*, in front of and behind it, is also shaved. The women generally part their hair

¹ Manu V.

in the middle and plait it in a single pig tail (*gut*) which hangs over the back, whereas the Musalmān women plait the hair in two locks, which either hang over the face or down the back.

In most parts of the country the men wear ear-rings of gold (*kundāl*) which are presented by the bride's father to the bridegroom on the wedding day. In Duki and Bārkhān they wear silver bangles. Many ornaments are worn by the women in the nose, ears, on hands and toes; the distinctive mark of a married woman is the *chōṭi-phul* made of gold or silver and worn on the hair, or a nose-ring (*nath*) generally made of gold. The following list of ornaments worn in well-to-do Bēlāro families of Las Bēla will give an idea of the amount of jewellery a Hindu woman can carry on her person :—

Name of Ornament.	Part of body where worn.	Metal of which it is generally made.	Price.
			Rs.
<i>Nath and phul</i> ...	Nose.	Gold.	125
<i>Dandra</i> ...	"	"	1
<i>Dur</i> ...	Ears.	"	35
<i>Dēda</i> ...	"	"	36
<i>Kukiyūn</i> ...	"	"	25
<i>Paṇṇa</i> ...	"	"	50
<i>Aqdani</i> ...	Neck.	"	40
<i>Kandī</i> ...	"	"	200
<i>Jhīr Miryūn</i> ...	"	"	75
<i>Tāwis</i> ...	"	"	50
<i>Dāṇṇi</i> ...	Forehead.	"	50
<i>Varkiyū</i> ...	Wrist.	"	50
<i>Bahula</i> ...	"	"	23
<i>Rings</i> ...	Fingers.	"	30
" ...	Toes.	Silver.	5
<i>Nāora or Kangra</i> ...	Ankle.	"	50
<i>Karyūn</i> ...	"	"	125
<i>Paṇṇeb</i> ...	"	"	20

11. With the Hindu, religion is not a thing for times and seasons; it professes to regulate his whole life in its many relations. It orders ceremonies to be performed before he is born and after his death. It ordains ceremonies to attend on his birth, his early training, his food, his style of dress and its manufacture, his employment, marriage and amusements. To describe a Hindu's life is to describe his religion.

And this seems one of the reasons why Hinduism is so difficult to define. According to one writer: "It has no prophet, no creed, no book, and its outward aspects are so numerous and varied that it is impossible to define it." According to Sir Alfred Lyall²: "It is the collection of rites, worships, beliefs, traditions and mythologies that are sanctioned by the sacred books and ordinances of the Brahmans and are propagated by Brahman teaching."

Mr. Srinavas, in welcoming Mr. Basu's Bill in the Madras Provincial Conference, speaking of Hinduism, said:—

"There were no definite articles of Hinduism absolutely fixed. The term Hindu was itself a modern term of usage. It was merely a convenient description of the congeries of faiths which inhabited the continent, but which could not be classified under any other well-known religion. What was Hinduism? It embraced every variety of faith and unfaith, all kinds of discordant views and antagonistic practices, monistic and dualistic philosophy, faith that was purely intellectual and faiths that were dogmatic and devotional, faiths that were cruel and obscene and faiths that were humane and noble."³

A modern Hindu writer, after examining the various definitions of Hinduism, says: "To say that Hinduism is that which the majority of Hindus believe or follow, or that it is

¹ Gazetteer of Sind, page 162.

² People of India, page 233.

³ *Comrade*, dated 2-3-12.

that which is not Sikhism, Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islām, Magdaism or Hebrewism, or that it is a tangled jungle of superstition or beliefs, rites, traditions and mythologies found in Brahmanical books, does not help us in knowing what it is. There are, however, some basic ideals which are common to all who are now known as the Hindus. These are: (1) distinction of caste, (2) the supremacy of the Brahmans, at least in theory, (3) the sacredness of the Vedas and the cow, (4) the law of *Karma* and re-incarnation, and a belief in God. These beliefs are more or less current in all Hindu society wherever it may be found¹.

Perhaps the best solution has been given by L. Bhagwān Dāss of Benares in this very catholic dictum:—

“We must content ourselves by saying that any and every one is a Hindu, (i) who does not insist that he is non-Hindu, or more positively, (who) believes and says that he is a Hindu, and (ii) accepts any of the many beliefs, and follows any of the many practices, that are anywhere regarded as included in Hinduism. He who believes and says that he is a Hindu, is a Hindu, and none should say him nay².”

So Hinduism in its social and religious aspect would seem to be the most comprehensive religious system in the world. It includes polytheists who believe in the thirty-three *Karōrs* (330 millions) of Devtas, Gods and Goddesses of various degrees; the worshippers of idols; it includes monotheists who believe in one God; it does not exclude the *nāstaks* who deny the very existence of God; it embraces people of diverse opinions and practices. A Brahman who would consider himself polluted if the shadow of a *malēcha* fell upon him is a Hindu, so also the sweeper who casts that shadow and who does not hesitate to eat of the carcass of an unclean beast. Hinduism has always opened its arms

¹ Hinduism, Ancient and Modern, by R. B. Lāla Baij Nāth, page 6.

² The Central Hindu College Magazine, Oct. 1911, pages 257-61.

to welcome prophets, saints, seers of every faith and order, and accorded them respect, honour and homage.

What has been said of the Hindus of Sind,¹ it may be said with equal truth of the domiciled Hindus of Baluchistān: "There is after all very little religion among them that would be recognised as Hinduism in the rest of India." Questioned as to his religion, a Hindu will content himself by answering that he is a Hindu; and to his own mind that conveys all. Examined further he may be able to say he is a Sikh or a Sēwak, meaning by the latter a follower of the Daryā Pīr or of some Saint or a Dēvī, including Kālī and Sundrī. By religion the domiciled Hindus may be classified as:—

Nānak Shāhīs or Nānak Panthīs.

Daryā Panthīs.

Followers of Gosāins.

Saktas, known locally as Dēv Mārgīs, Andat Mārgīs or Sundr Mārgīs.

12. The Nānak Shāhīs are followers of the First Sikh

Nānak Shāhīs. Guru, Guru Nānak, who was born in the Panjāb, in 1469 A. D., and preached a reformed and purely monotheistic Hinduism. In each important village where there is a Hindu community there is a place of worship called *dhurmsāla*, where the Sikh scriptures (*Guru Giranth Sāhib*) are recited morning and evening by a Brahman or a Bhāi, where *Karāh parshād* (*halwa*) is offered on high days and holidays. Men and women resort to these *dharamsālas*, some to listen to the scripture readings, others simply to bow to the *Giranth Sāhib* and make small offerings of cash, sweets or flowers. They do not seem to follow the injunctions of the tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, for they do not keep their hair long, but in most parts of the country shave their beard and head; nor do they eat *Jhatka*, and they sell and smoke tobacco. There are, however, half a dozen Kuka Sikhs in Tahri in the Lahri Niābat of Kalāt, converted by one Jaimal Singh from

¹ Gazetteer of Sind, page 162.

the Punjāb some twenty years ago, who do not eat meat, wear long hair and do not intermarry with other Hindus.

13. The sacred place of the Daryā Panthis is at Udērō Lāl in Sind. Here there is the tomb of the miraculous infant Udērō Lāl, who transformed himself into an armed horseman and emerged from the Indus to rebuke a Musalmān Governor of Tatta for his persecution and to order him to treat all worshippers of God alike. The kernel of the origin or dissemination of this form of river worship may be in this tale, for both Musalmāns and Hindus claim the saint, the former calling him Shēkh Tāhīr at Udērō Lāl and Khwāja Khizar at Sukkur. He is worshipped in two ways by water and light. A perpetual lamp (*jōt*) burns in his temple (*zhān*), while on the advent of the new moon he is propitiated at the river or canal or other water with rice, sugarcandy, spices and fruits, and lighted lamps. The floating of little lamps down the river at evening time is one typical form of his worship. Each important Hindu centre in Baluchistān has its *mandir* or temple containing a raised platform of earth on which rests a lamp always kept burning; above the lamp hangs to the roof a small cradle known as the *jīnd pīr dā jhūlā*. The votaries prostrate themselves before the *jōt*, and shake the cradle. On festival days *sesa* (cooked gram, rice, etc.), is distributed. On the day of the new moon, men and women, but especially the women, repair to some water, and place by it a lighted lamp, rice, flowers, fruits and sweets. Where there is no *mandir*, or when a Daryā Panthī may be hard pressed for time, he is content for his morning worship to bow solemnly before an earthen pitcher or even a *khalli* filled with water, and ask for the Pir's blessings for his day's work.

14. The Gosāins are the descendants of Shāmji and Lālji, who were sent from Bind-
The followers of Gosāins. rāban to free the Hindus of the Lower Indus from the errors into which they had fallen in consequence of their association with Musalmāns.

The temples of Shāmji and Lālji are situated in Dēra Ghzā. Khān, the former being known as Naunit Piyāra and the latter Gōpi Nāth. In Balūchistān the followers of Gosāins are known as Lāldāsīs, and are chiefly found in the eastern part of the country, though there are some in Kālat, Mastung and Nushki also. The Gosāins visit their followers in Balūchistān periodically to collect their fixed fees.

15. There is an order of reciters of devotional songs

Bhagats. known as *Bhagats* or *Jagusi*, the meetings at which such recitations

take place being also known as *bhagat*. Any Hindu, irrespective of caste, can join the order. The order was founded by two *gurus*, Shada and Banna. The head-quarters of the Shadāni are at Khānpur, of the Bannāni at Shikārpur in Sind. The *guru mantar* or sacred text which is given to a new disciple is the Japji of the Sikhs. Well-known Bhagats of Balūchistān are Bhāi Budhal of Tāhir Kōṭ, Bhāi Vera of Dāḍhar, Bhāi Asū (a Sunāra by caste) of Lahri, and Bhāi Tēkam of Kanda in Kachhi. When these Bhagats are invited to a meeting, they are provided with means of transport and food, and are paid Rs. 12 a day. Bhāi Budha is an old man of over 65 years of age, but has still a very powerful voice. At a recent meeting he recited several *Bhajans* descriptive of the present iron age, *Kālī Yug*, one of which is as follows :—

*Sach marchān, kūr gur, pīr paisa, sāl gur, jarēn chae
taien tur* : Truth is like chillies, falsehood is sweet,
money is the God, woman the spiritual guide : do as
she commands.

16. The Saktas worship the female principle as manifested in one or other of the forms

The Saktas. of Seva's consort Durga, Kālī or

Pārbati. The forces of nature are deified under separate personalities as the divine mother—an old idea revived with fresh and more impure associations. The meetings of the votaries of this sect are held in secrecy at night, but sufficient

light has recently been thrown on their indecent practices. The cult seems to have been introduced in parts of Baluchistān by Jōgis and other Fakirs from Sind and the Panjāb. It is difficult to say exactly how far it has spread and in what form, as the followers of the sect do not even avow it. But it is known that Bām Mārgis exist in Quetta, and under the name of Dēva Mārgis, Andar Mārgis or Sundri Mārgis are to be found in Bārkhān and Mēkhtar. Their form of Saktism seems comparatively harmless, females, it is stated, being not admitted. In Quetta the officiating priests are Jōgis, the followers, some of whom are well educated, are mostly Sindhi Hindus. In other parts the followers are Panjābi and Sindhi Hindus. It can be stated on reliable authority that in Quetta the meetings of the Bām Mārgis are held in the night in closed rooms in the *Jōgī Islhān*, or the Mandir of Pāni Nāth, where a fire and a lamp are lighted, and songs sung in praise of Dēvi. The initiate must be introduced by some member of the sect who can vouch for his fidelity to keep the secrets, and his ability to meet the expenses of his initiation. He is admitted in the dead of night blindfolded, with earrings made of dough, on a promise never to divulge the secret teachings of the sect. He has to go through a ceremonial consisting chiefly of the worship of Durga, conducted by a Jōgī. The ceremony closes with a feast provided at the expense of the initiate, consisting of *pulāo*, meat, wine and *bhang*. Three or four men eat from the same plate and sip wine or *bhang* from the same cup, no matter what their caste. They wash their hands and mouth in a basin, and drink of the water. To hoodwink the Hindus they disguise the various articles of food which are objectionable to the orthodox, under misleading names: *bhang* is called *kēsar* (saffron); onions, *rām lūḍū*, (the sweets of Rām); flesh *brahm bhājan* (food of the gods), wine *amrit* (water of life); and so on.

In Bārkhān the Dēv Mārgis generally hold their meetings on the first day of a Hindu month, at the new moon, on the 12th day of a month or on a Sunday, and during the Nao-rātas

and other festivals. They hold their annual festival on the 11th day of the month of Sānwan at the Banni spring, five miles from Chuhaṛ Kōṭ. Here, according to local tradition, lived a Hindu *fakīr* named Gulāb Nāth, who came from the Panjāb; and with him lived a Musalmān *fakīr*. Gulāb Nāth used to feed miraculously all strangers that came his way. One day Bālāch and Sabzal Siahāzai Powādi Maris passed by, and thinking that the *fakīrs* must be very wealthy to distribute their hospitality so profusely, they killed them but found nothing. The Hindus erected tombs to both. The members raise subscriptions amongst themselves, slaughter goats, cook meat and other delicacies, and provide *bhāṅg* and wine. In the winter they assemble in their *dharamsālās* at Hājī Kōṭ and Chuhaṛ Kōṭ, in the summer they go to caves in the hills called Kurial and Wal. Here they sing hymns in praise of the Dēvi, offer her cooked food and wine, and then eat, drink and make merry. Besides the ordinary *kīryā* (the ceremonies performed on the 12th day after the death of a person), a second *kīryā*, known as the *sākha dhāl*, is performed for a Dēv Mārgī according to the Dēv Mārag rites, for, unless this be done, the deceased cannot hope to obtain salvation. The *sākha dhāl* should preferably be performed in the *maswān* or burning ground on a night when some corpse is being cremated.

About 35 years ago when Ghaneshām and Pars Rām were the Diwāns of His Highness the Khān, Bām Mārag is said to have been practised in Kalāt, but it has no votaries now.

The Saktas are not ostracised by other Hindus, they dine, intermarry and have free social intercourse with others.

17. Kālī is worshipped mostly in Bhāṅ, Kalāt and Mastung, and the temple of Kālī

Other forms of worship
of Dēvi.

in Kalāt is probably the oldest
place of Hindu worship in the

country. Here a *jōt* or lamp is kept burning day and night, and the oil required for it was, until recent times, supplied by the State.

Most of the goldsmiths of the country are worshippers of Kālī; the Atits of Las Bēla are Saivites and votaries of Sītla Māta—the goddess of small-pox.

18. Such are the various sects or cults. Of the tenets of the religion these domiciled Hindus appear to be grossly ignorant. They do not even seem to know, much less to realise, the importance of the five great sacrifices (*Panch Mahāyagya*), the performance of which has been enjoined on all twice-born classes of Hindus: (1) the reading and teaching of the Vedas called *Brahma Yagya*, (2) the oblations to the forefathers called *Pitrī Yagya*, (3) the sacrifices to the Gods called *Dēva Yagya*, (4) the distribution of food to living creatures called *Bhutaya Yagya*, and (5) the feeding of guests called *Mānush Yagya*. But in this respect they do not seem to be much behind their brethren of the Western Panjāb and Sind, where also these great daily sacrifices rarely enter into the everyday life of the ordinary Hindu. Though followers in name of such and such a sect, in some of its practices they are anything but sectarian. In any important village one may find in the same building a *dharmaśāla* where the Sikh scriptures are kept and recited, temple of Dēvi, a *jōt* of Daryā Pīr, and idols of minor Gods. In the compound of the Sanatan Dharam Sabha Hall at Quetta—a favourite place of resort of both domiciled and alien Sindhi Hindus—the Sikh scriptures are kept in one room with a Sikh *Bhāi* in charge: in another room is the Shīvdwāla with the *lingum* and a sacred bull as objects of worship; in a third (the *thākar dwāra*) are the images of Rāma and Krishna and other Gods. And close to the *mandir*, but outside the compound, is a small hut in which is placed an image of Hanumān. And a similar mixture of objects of worship is noticeable elsewhere.

The everyday religious observances of a domiciled Hindu consist in a bath in the morning, a visit to the various temples, and (if time permit) listening to readings from the

Granth Sāhib or other religious book. Though many have their special *isht-dēvtās* or godlings or family gods, a Nānak Panthī will visit the temple of Kālī and prostrate himself before the *jōt* and a Daryā Panthī will in turn visit the Daryā Pir temple and the *dharamsāla*.

There seems plenty of unorthodoxy here. But if as in some of the *shāstras* the principal, if not the only religious duty of a Hindu in this *Kālī Yug* or iron age be *dān* or the dispensing of charity, and if charity means the feeding of Brahmans, *fakīrs* and mendicants, and the making of presents on various occasions, the domiciled Hindus seem orthodox enough.

19. Besides these various places of worship, they have several local *Tīraths*, sacred. Local *Tīraths* (sacred places). streams or springs, where they hold festivals and into which those of them who cannot afford to go to Hardwār even now throw the bones of their dead. Among the more important *Tīraths* are :—Banni in Bārkhān, Bāla Dēvta near Saghri in Bōri, Harīsar in Sukleji, about 18 miles from Shōrān, Gurkh in Lahri, Gahti near Khar, Sār in Nāri, Sibri in Dhādar, Ghāib Pir near Khajūri in the Bolān, Gēdbast called Indrapuri near Mastung, the Māruf spring in Mungachar, Indrapuri near Kalāt, Shebro near Khuzdār in Jhālāwān, Gangā Kālī (known by the Bugtīs as Jaurī) in the Zen hills in the Bugtī country, Hinglāj in Las Bēla and Dhāra in Sindh.

20. But not content with these, and mindful of the protection they received in olden times from the Musalmān tribes, they are not slow to avail themselves of the blessings which their dead tribal chiefs and the tribal progenitors and saints may have to bestow. They consequently look with reverence upon the local Musalmān saints, and they make offerings at the shrines. Among the chief of these shrines are the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar in the Dēra Ghāzi Khān District, of Pir Mahmūd and Pir Lākhā in Bārkhān, of the Nāna Sāhib at Chotiāli in Duki, of the Sōhri Pir,

Mazāro Pir and Pir Chhatta in the Bugṭī country, of Gazēn and Bahāwalān in the Marī country, of Pir Taiyār Ghāzi in Bhāg, of Lākha Pir in Jhal, of Dōpāsi Pir near Dhāḍar, of Shāl Pirān, Syed Hayāt, Khwāja Wali and Bukhāri Pirs in Quetta, of Miān Pir Shāh Bilāwal in Las Bēla, and of Sultān Pir and Pir Mahmūd in Nushki.

And either out of regard for their Musalmān protectors or as a general token of faith some will give away *sharbat* (syrup) and parched *juāri* on the last day of Muharram, while some of the women fast on the last Sunday or Wednesday in the Ramzān, and during the Muharram tie a thread (*bandi*) on their boys who have not put on *janeo*, and offer *kuṭṭi* (broken bread) at the village Masjid. A Taldār Hindu of Quetta would not undertake a long journey nor celebrate a marriage nor invest a boy with the sacred thread nor hold any other festivities during the Muharram, while a Kakrēja of Bārkhān must spend nine days at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar previous to his wedding.

21. They all regard small-pox as the visitation of the goddess Sitala, or Māi Dāti or Dāti Rāni as she is often called, and many an offering is made to appease her. She is supposed to have had five brothers like unto her :—

Lākra or *Khasrā* (measles); *Sakhra*, *Gokar* or *Bād Ābla* (scarlet fever), *Bar Chhungal*; *Sum Sunran*; *Khartit* or *Kālī Khānsi* (whooping cough).

Outside many of the villages a small mound of earth has been plastered over to represent Māi Dāti or Dāti Rāni. To this mound men and women resort especially during an outbreak of small-pox, prostrate themselves, plaster it over, offer bread and sweets, and sing songs in praise of the Dāti Rāni. If a child is seriously ill with small-pox, the parents make a vow to present to a Brahman the image of Dāti Rāni, made of silver or gold, according to their means. The child is given a mixture of *samundar Jhag*, *surma* (antimony), *gur* (molasses) and camel dung powdered and

dissolved in water, and the womenfolk sing songs in praise of the Dāti Rāni. No woman in her monthly course or one who has been recently confined is allowed to see the child : even the sound of either would be harmful. If the child recovers, little girls are fed on rice and milk and given small presents in cash. The worship of Māi Dāti has been borrowed from the Hindus by some of the tribes (notably Jatts, Khētrāns and Maris), who invite Hindu girls to sing songs in praise of the Māi Dāti when one of their children is suffering from small-pox, and feed the girls if the sick one recovers.

Like their brethren in India they believe that at the time of an eclipse Rāhu¹ (the ascending node) devours the sun and moon, and at an eclipse they stop all work, offer prayers and give alms to induce Rāhu to restore these luminaries. They fast while the eclipse is on, and a pregnant woman must lie in a corner of the house with a pestle or a stone slab by her side to shield the child in the womb from the effects of the eclipse, else heavy and dire are the ills that will befall it. If a mother applies antimony to her eyes during an eclipse, her child will have blue patches on its body at birth. Some of the Paṭhān tribes have much the same ideas. Thus when an eclipse is on, the Vanēchi Spin Tarāns of Shāhrig abstain from work, while the women and children beat drums or copper plates to keep the evil off with the noise.

For a child to grind its teeth is a bad omen, a forerunner of death in the family. The mother hurries off for a charm and puts it round the child's neck ; the wing of a jay is considered to be the best charm of all.

A husband will not call his wife by name, nor will the wife take the name of her husband. He addresses her as 'Sēṭhāni' or 'Wānṛiani,' and the wife in turn addresses him as 'Sēṭh' or 'Wānṛia.' If they have a son, she calls

¹ Hindu Mythology, page 435.

the husband 'father of so and so' (naming the boy). This is a matter in which the women are more particular than the men.

No Wāṇṇia of Las Bēla or Bhāg will sell fuller's earth or salt after sunset, some will not sell crude potash or turmeric either. If anybody wants any of these articles, he may take it without mentioning its name and without paying for it, though he will of course have to pay up next day.

On opening his shop in the morning, a Hindu solemnly repeats the name of Lākha Pīr and prays for his assistance in securing a handsome income during the day. According to a tradition prevalent in the country, this Pīr was in possession of a man's figure made of gold. Every morning the Pīr would cut a limb off the figure and distribute the gold in alms to the poor, only to find the figure whole on the morrow.

A Hindu will give nothing on credit until he has had his *ṭōhnṛī*, i.e., sold something for cash that morning, however small the cash transaction may be; and he will be on the lookout to begin the day's business with a person whom he considers lucky.

Hindus of Las Bēla do not drink the milk of a cow newly calved, for 5 days, of Mastung for 21 days, of Jhal for 30 days, and those of Kalāt and Bhāg for 40 days. The ordinary Shastric¹ prohibition against the use of such milk extends to ten days.

22. Not only do the Hindus resort freely to shrines of Musalmān saints and occasionally fast during the Ramzān and distribute sweets and *sharbat* during the Muharram (§20); they use sheep-skins (*khullī* or *oi*) for drinking water as freely as their Musalmān neighbours. Out in the districts, a Hindu will not hesitate to bake his bread on a *thōbī* (griddle) or in the oven of a Musalmān family. In many parts of the country, Hindus employ Musalmān servants,

¹ Manu, V. 8.

males and females, who assist in household work. A Musalmān maid servant may sweep, clean and smear with cowdung the *chauka* (kitchen) of her Hindu master, may clean his cooking and eating pots; but she must not enter the *chauka* when the food is being cooked nor must she touch any cooked food, except of course roasted meat. A Musalmān servant, male or female, may bring them drinking water in a *khalli* anywhere; in Nasirābād, Bēlā, parts of Kachhi and the Mari-Bugṭi country in a *dilla* or earthen pot; elsewhere he must not touch a *dilla*. Water brought in brass pots by a Musalmān servant should be used only for washing and bathing, not for drinking. But in Nushki and Jhal, this distinction is ignored. In Sibi, though a Musalmān may not fetch water in a *dilla*, a Musalmān woman may lend a helping hand to her Hindu sister and place a *dilla* filled with water on her head. In Nasirābād a Hindu may support his *dilla* of water with a shod foot (*i.e.*, wearing leather shoes) and pour water from it into a metal pot. Water brought in a *khalli* is used in the *mandirs* and *dharamsālas* in many places outside Quetta. As mentioned before (§9) the Hindus, Nānak Panthis included, do not eat *jhaṭka* meat.

23. It is hard indeed to find a definition of caste in all its bearings. The only division or *varna* or caste known in the Vedic times, was the division between the white-skinned Aryans and the dark-skinned aborigines of the land known then as *Dasyū*s. According to Manu, the great effulgent assigned various duties to those who were created from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet. He assigned to the Brahmanṣ the duties of imparting and receiving instruction, performing and officiating at sacrifices, giving and receiving gifts. To the Kshatriyas he assigned the duty of protecting others, making gifts, performing sacrifices, reading the Scriptures, and non-attachment to objects of the senses. To the Vaisyas he assigned the duty of rearing cattle, making gifts and sacrifices, studying the Scriptures, trading by sea,

lending money on interest and agriculture. To the Sudras he assigned only one duty, to serve the other three classes without jealousy.

Up to that time *varna* seems to have been dependent on the duties to be performed, and it was not until the Purāṇic times and not completely even then that birth alone was declared the determining factor. In the *Suta Samhita*, which is a part of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, it is, however, laid down that the distinction of caste for all orders is due to birth and not to millions of *karmas*, just as the class to which an animal belongs is determined by its birth and not otherwise. The present castes and their divisions are not based on the old principles but on the incident of birth. The two tests, whether the twice-born will take water and cooked food from the hands of its members and whether Brahmans will act as priests on occasions of births, marriages or deaths, determine the comparative purity or otherwise of the caste. To give some idea of the minute regulation of this system, and how its laws are framed to regulate the life of its slaves, it may be mentioned, says Dr. Wilkins,¹ that it has for infancy, pupilage and manhood its ordained methods of suckling, sipping, eating and drinking, of washing, anointing, rising, reclining, of moving, visiting, travelling, of speaking, reading, listening and reciting, and of meditating, singing, working and fighting. It has its laws for social and religious rites, privileges and occupations, for education, duty, religious service, for errors, sins, transgressions; for inter-communication, avoidance and excommunication; for defilement and purification, for fines and punishments. It unfolds the ways of committing what are called sins of accumulating sins, of acquiring, dispensing and losing merit. It treats of inheritance, conveyance, possession and dis-possession of property, and of bargains, gains, loss and ruin. It deals with death, burial and burning, and with commemoration, assistance and injury after death. It in-

¹ Modern Hinduism by W. J. Wilkins, page 236.

terferes, in short, with all the relations and events of life, and with what precedes and follows, or what is supposed to precede or follow life. It reigns supreme in the innumerable classes and divisions of the Hindus, whether they originate in family descent, in religious opinions, in civil or sacred occupations, or in local residence, and it professes to regulate all their interests, affairs and relationships. The authority of caste rests partly on written laws, partly on legendary fables and narratives, partly on the injunctions of instructors and priests, partly on custom and usage and partly on the caprice and convenience of its votaries.

24. Such then is the domain of caste. And though the domiciled Hindus of Balūchistān, having for generations lived among Muhammadans, are very far from being so caste-ridden as this, they have not been able after all these years of isolation to shake off its shackles altogether.

With the exception of the Brahmans, Atīts, Sādhus and *sakirs* of various orders and with the further exception of the goldsmiths whose numbers are few, nearly all are Arōras. They themselves are usually ignorant of the fact and hardly recognise such nice distinctions as Kshatriya, Arōra and the rest. An aged Arōra of *Khajjak* when questioned on the subject said he was a Kanrōzai or descendant of Kanrā, but could not say what his real sub-caste was, and added somewhat seriously "it is probable there may be a record of our castes with the Brahmans at Hardwār, where our forefathers occasionally went to deposit the bones of their dead in the sacred waters of the Ganges." The profound ignorance of the people may be gathered from another instance. Talū, son of Lahrū, a Brahman, when questioned could not say definitely what his caste was, but after a while added he might be a Sārsut. He had married a daughter of Lachman, a Brahman who resides at Kahān in the Marī country, and Talū is as ignorant of Lachman's caste as of his own.

Hindus (or Kirārs as they prefer to call themselves) they are, as distinguished from the priestly Brahmans, and that is enough caste and religion for them. Curiously enough as it may seem, some however may know the sub-caste or family to which they belong. Thus, if asked what his caste was, a Hindu in Sibi would probably be staggered for a while, and at last say 'Hindu'; question him further by giving an illustration from among the tribesmen with whom he has lived, he may say 'Ahūja'. But there you must stop. He cannot tell you further whether he is an Arōṛa or a Kshatriya; if you tell him, Ahūjas are a sub-caste of Arōṛas which are divided into three main groups, Utrādi, Dakhana and Dahra, he will be puzzled and unable to say to which group his sub-caste belongs. In Nasirābād and parts of Kachhi alone do the people seem to recognise a distinction in matrimonial matters between Utrādi and Dakhana.

Who are the Arōṛas? 25. Who the Arōṛas themselves are is a matter on which the authorities seem to differ.

In the pamphlet "*Asli Tawārikh-i-Arōṛbans*" or the authentic history of the Arōṛas, compiled by Pandit Mōhan Lāl, Shāmi-pōtra, and based on a dialogue which took place in 1412 A.D. at Nārkanā in Sind between Purohit Chandry Sabat-pāl and his son Tilu Misr, an interesting and detailed account is given of their origin, divisions, sub-castes and distribution:

"In the Trēta age, we are told, appeared an Incarnation of the deity, named Pars Rām, to put an end to the tyrannies of Rāja Sahasar Bāhū, and to rid the Brahmans from the oppressions of the Khatris. Pars Rām made twenty-one expeditions against the Khatris, dispersed and ruined them. Such of the Khatris, who on being questioned by Pars Rām, denied their caste and said that they were 'aur'—others—were not molested, but were ordered to migrate to Sind. Hence the name Arōṛa. Sūtji has also written in the 15th Chapter of his '*Bhū suter Purān*' of origin of the world that during

his twenty-first expedition against the Khatri, Pars Rām met a Khatri, Arat by name, who with his sons, grandsons, daughters, sons-in-law, daughter's sons, his wife's parents, and others were going well armed to the field of battle. These people Pars Rām found defending their own lives and not taking an offensive part. On being questioned by Pars Rām, they said that they were Chhatris (Khatris); and it was not proper for them to attack a Brahman. Pars Rām then said they were *Arat*—a word meaning in Sanskrit 'devoid of anger.' Hence the name Arōṛa, a corruption of the word *Arat*. Pars Rām then blessed them and allowed them to depart; they came to Sind and founded a city and called it Arōṛkoṭ. Through the blessings of Pars Rām, the Arōṛas multiplied and prospered and spread into Afghānistān, Balūchistān, Bikanir and elsewhere, and the various communities began to call themselves after their influential and leading headmen, hence the sections. In the year 195 Vikramī (138 A.D.) in the reign of Mahārāja Sāl Jati, the successor of Rāja Sāli Wāhan, the Arōṛas of Bhāi Pahū Mall Wālē living at Multān excommunicated a Khatri, named Bhōlā, Dhāwan by caste, for his misconduct. Bhōlā had two sister's sons, Dēwa Mall and Sēwa Mall, Milhōtra Khatri by caste; they adhered to their maternal uncle and they also were excommunicated. Other Khatri also took part and there was a split between the Arōṛas and the Khatri. At this time the Arōṛas of Arōṛkoṭ were an important and wealthy community and there were no less than sixteen *karōr-patti* or millionaires among them. Having heard of the dissensions among the Arōṛas and the Khatri of Multān, these sixteen wealthy men left Arōṛkoṭ, came to Multān and discussed matters with the disputants for three long days, but failed to effect a settlement. They then returned to Arōṛkoṭ and determined to call a conference of all the Arōṛas and raised a sum of Rs. 1,12,000 to meet the expenses. They invited Gosān Sidh Bhōj, the elder brother of Misr Jachak, from Nāo Nathi Tēla to preside over their deliberations. Written invitations were sent to Arōṛas in various parts, and the Brāhmans who administered to the spiritual needs of the Arōṛas were also invited. They

assembled on the banks of the Indus at Arōrkot, and the first sitting of the Conference was held on the day of the Bijai Dasmi in the year 200 Vikrami (October 143 A.D.). There were present that day 43,200 Arōras, including 400 *panch* or leaders of communities. Twelve castes of Bhaṭṭs and twelve castes of artisans, barbers and others were also present. The president, Gosāin Sidh Bhōj, and other Brahmans sat on the east, the Arōrbans arranged themselves on the north, south and west. Gosāin Sidh Bhōj divided the Arōrbans in 408 sections, giving them names after their leaders, or after their characteristics, or after the occupations they followed: thus Mahujas after Mana Lāl; Mānak Talē after Mānak and Tēla Mal; Chānwala—those who sold rice, and so on. Having divided them into *al* or sections, Gosāin Sidh Bhōj began to lay down rules for their ceremonies which led to hot discussions and dissensions. Some wished to introduce reforms, while there were others who kept neutral. No decision could be arrived at, and it was found out that spies sent by the Khattris were secretly at work and were the cause of these dissensions. The meeting was adjourned to the following day; but before the audience dispersed the president told them that at the next meeting they should sit in the following order:—

To the north (*ular*) those who wished to maintain the old customs;

to the south (*dakhan*) those who wished to introduce reforms;

to the west (*pachham*) facing the Gosāin, those who did not want to side with either the one or the other.

On the following day the people came and sat in this order, and Gosāin Sidh Bhōj said that union was impossible; he accordingly divided them into three groups: *Utrādis* or northerners, *Dakhanas* or southerners, and *Dahrās*; but there was so little difference between the last two groups that they were treated as one. Members of one section went to the *Utrādis*; others of the same section went to the *Dakhanas*, and their *al* or section was included in both

the divisions. It was decided that the *Utrādis* should live in the country north of Arōrkoṭ, and the *Dakhanas* and the *Dahras* should go south. Hence these divisions. It was also decided that each group should intermarry within its own sub-castes; the *Dakhanas* and the *Dahras* among themselves, and the *Utrādis* among themselves."

Pandit Rādha Parshād Shāstri of Lāhore, on the other hand, after examining¹ the various theories regarding the origin of the Arōras, maintains that the Arōras are Chandrabansi Khatris, descendants of Arjuna. He thinks that when Pars Rām killed all the Khatris he could lay his hands upon, the remainder, mostly women with little children, hid themselves in hills for fear of their lives. When these children grew up, they still could not avow their real caste, and adopted menial professions of *lohār* (blacksmith), *sunār* (goldsmith) and so on, and came to be known as *ār* or low class, a word which in time changed into Arōra. He quotes as an instance the Lohānas (Arōras) of Sindh, who he thinks worked in iron and came to be known as Lohānas.

26. To the *Asli Tawāriḳ-i-Arōrbans* is appended a list of the *āl* or sections of the Utrādis, Dakhanas and Dahras, arranged

Sub-castes.

alphabetically, but unfortunately the sections have not been classed under these three groups, and the sections given in the list number 347 against 408 mentioned in the text. Speaking broadly, we have two territorial main groups of the domiciled Hindus in the Province, those who immigrated from the Sind and settled in the southern and central parts of the country, and those who came from Harand, Dājil and Tibbi in Dera Ghāzi Khān and parts of Multān and Bahāwalpur and settled in the western and northern parts of the country. These may conveniently be classed as the Sindhi and the Panjābi Arōras. They have not, however, been keen to adhere entirely to the original *āl*, but have in some cases struck out new ones for themselves, using

¹ Arōrbans Bivastha by Pandit Rādha Parshād Shāstri, Professor D. A. V. College, Lahore (1912).

sometimes the names of some ancestor, and adopting the Pashtō ending *zai*. Instances of this are the Rāmzai or Rāmēzai, the Panjazai and the Swārēzai of Lōṛalai; the Kīrpālzai, the Kēsai, and Bāghzai of Kachhi; the Jaisinghzai of Kalāt; the Kauṛēzai, Pahāzai and Ganṛēzai of Sibi. In some cases Khatri families have been absorbed by marriage ties among the Arōṛas. Thus Tōpan Mal, a Dhāwan Khatri of Bārkhān, married a Tanēja Arōṛa woman and his two daughters have been married into Sukhēja Arōṛa families.

Sometimes they have made territorial divisions. Thus the Hindus who have for generations been settled in Quetta, Kalāt and Nushki call themselves Taldārs (localised); later comers in Quetta are called Kachhiwāls, that is, those who came from the Kachhi plain. In Las Bēla the older inhabitants are known as Bēlāro, resident of Bēla, the recent immigrants as the Pardēsi or strangers, each division being endogamous. The Bhāṭias who claim to be of the Rājput origin have now been absorbed in both, and intermarry with them. The *al* found in the Province are shown in the Appendix.

27. The Hindus of Balūchistān are docile, thrifty and industrious, capable of bearing any amount of hardship and privation; indeed the Jhang proverb "when an Arōṛa girds up his loins he makes it two miles to Lāhore" might well be applied to them. The trade of the country, outside the larger alien settlements, is almost entirely in their hands. The *bannia* wanders from place to place with his goods loaded on his faithful donkey. Free from caste prejudices he will stay the night in the blanket tent of a tribesman, bake his bread on a *thōbi* (griddle), or his *kāk* (a coarse bread) on live coal, wash it down with a cup of milk or water, and rest for the night. Like the tribesmen among whom he lives, he has no need of the services of a barber, tailor, or washerman. The sewing and washing are ordinarily done by his women, the shaving by one of his fellows. His life is simple and his wants few.

The various epithets given to the Hindu by the tribesmen are interesting, but some seem curiously inapplicable. Among the Lāsis of Las Bēla a Hindu is likened to an edifice made of butter, which melts away when exposed to a little sun and when left at home is eaten by the rats. Among Pathāns and Brāhūis the term *bakhhkhāl* is a term of abuse. A Pathān will swear "If I fail to fulfil my promise I am a Hindu." A Brāhūi when taunting a man will say "Do you take me for your *bakhhkhāl* that you treat me like this." A greedy tribesman is called a *bakhhkhāl* who places his faith in his rupees. The tribesmen do not rely on the friendship of *bannias*; as a Jaṭki proverb says "If hair grew on the palm of your hand, a *bannia* would be your friend."

28. The few Brahmans are chiefly Pushkarna and Sārsut

Other castes.

with one or two families of
Gaurs. Most of them are really

only temporary sojourners in the country, and have their homes in the Panjāb or Sind, and even those who have been settled here for some time still inter-marry with their caste-fellows in the Panjāb and Sind. They officiate at domestic ceremonies, but few of them are well-learned in scriptural literature and most of them are men who could not earn a living in their own homes; nevertheless they seem to satisfy the spiritual and social wants of the people. They can recite Sanskrit verses at various ceremonies, but are usually unable to explain the meaning of even the most important marriage vows. The writer remembers a marriage in an out of the way village, where a Panjābi Brahman of sorts conducted the ceremony by reciting some Panjābi verses from the story of Parān Bhagat, the Panjab hero, to the satisfaction of the parties who paid him the customary fee. The Brahmans receive fixed fees in cash and presents in kind, on the various domestic ceremonies at which they officiate. Where there is no *panchāyat* with its *Dharam-khātā* or charity fund, the Brahmans and Sādhus in charge of places of worship receive fixed fees from each Hindu family of the place, besides the offerings on various occasions.

The Pushkarna Brahmins take no food from the Hindus, neither *kachi* (cooked in water) nor *pakki* (cooked in ghee) and abstain from flesh, and wine. The Sārsut and Gauṛ Brahmins eat both the *kachi* and *pakki* food of Arōṣas, partake of flesh and wine, and like the Arōṣas drink water from a *khalli*.

Some of the important villages have an *achāraṇ* (a low class Brahmin) who performs the death ceremonies. Elsewhere the Hindus have to travel long distances to get one. In such cases the ordinary Brahmins assist in the performance of the ceremonies for the first few days while one of the family goes to procure an *achāraṇ* by the tenth day, gets him to perform the *kiriyā*, and feeds the Brahmins on the eleventh day.

A couple of Atit families are found in Las Bēla. They are worshippers of Sitla Mātā, the goddess of small-pox.

The Sunāras are mostly well-to-do, and do not consider themselves socially inferior to the Arōṣas. Indeed though there have been instances of Sunāras taking girls of Arōṣas in marriage, they decline to give their daughters to Arōṣas.

29. It has been said of Hindus ¹ in an adjoining province that "the caste organisation in Caste as it is found in Baluchistan. Sindh has undergone considerable modification owing to the contact with the alien and dominant social system of the Musalmān tribes. The Brahmins are a degraded and illiterate caste. With their fall from the commanding position that they occupy under the Hindu religion their influence on subordinate castes has diminished, until in place of a general tendency on the part of the latter to imitate their social system and religious custom, it will be found that the premier Hindu caste in Sindh—the Lohānas—wear the beard of the Musalmān conquerors and permit themselves the luxury of animal food, provided that it has been slain after the orthodox fashion of Islām." In Bengal ² on the other

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Part I, page 47.

² Brahmins, Thiests and Musalmans of India, pages 46-47.

hand "the orthodox Hindu prejudices are such that after sitting with a Muhammadan or a Christian friend or shaking hands with such a person, a Hindu has to put off his clothes and to bathe, or sprinkle his person with the holy water of the Ganges, and exclusion from caste would result from embracing Christianity or Muhammadanism, taking a sea voyage, marrying a widow, publicly throwing away the sacred thread; publicly eating *kachi* food cooked by a Muhammadan, Christian or low caste Hindu, publicly eating beef, pork or fowl; officiating as a priest in the house of a very low caste Sudra, by a female going away from home for an immoral purpose, and by a widow becoming pregnant; and in the villages, the friendless and the poor people are sometimes excluded from caste for other offences, as for instance adultery, incest, eating forbidden food and drinking forbidden liquors. But when the offender is an influential personage or is influentially connected no one thinks of visiting him with such punishment."

In his address to the first Arōrbans Conference, the Hon'ble Lāla Harkishan Lāl, B.A., Bar.-at-Law, of Lāhore, said "No caste, I should say, now existing in India follows purely a Manu profession, nor do they profess the same phase of religion; eating and drinking, I presume, never formed a strict distinctive mark of caste. It has been more the local phase of distinction when people settled outside their original homes and also the cult of various schools of reform. Marriage is at this time the only mark of caste or division left and it will be food for reflection for all of us as to how to widen this sphere of marriage."

If marriage be the only mark of distinction of caste the domiciled Hindus took steps to widen the sphere long ago. Except in a few localities where the *Utrādīs* and *Dakhanas* still restrict their matrimonial relations within their own divisions, a Hindu may intermarry in any caste he pleases not even excepting, in some parts, the *Sunāra*. But they have not stopped here. Arōras living in the eastern part of the country have married casteless Mārwarī women (§50),

there have even been instances of their keeping Muhammadan wives (§51). And if widow remarriage is a violation of the social or religious laws, they have boldly overstepped the bounds (§ 100). And not only widows but divorced women have been remarried.

Again, if restrictions in diet are among the essentials of caste, they have abandoned most of them, apparently under Musalmān influence. The writer was present at the fair held at Sibi on the occasion of the Holi festival in 1911, when over a hundred local Hindus including Sikhs, Bhagats, and Sunāras were present. Drinking water was served from *dillas* (earthen pots) in a metal glass which went the round of all present without being washed or cleaned, and country liquor was served in a similar manner. Such promiscuous drinking could hardly have been tolerated in other parts of India.

30. Each important centre has a body of leading men

The *Panchāyats* and their constitution. called the *panchāyat* (in Las Bēla the *mahājan*). The officers of the *panchāyat* are the president, called the *mukhi*, his deputy, called the *chaudri*, and a paid servant, the *tahlwā*. In Kalāt and Mastung the *chaudri* is the headman and the *mukhi* is his deputy. In some places the offices of *mukhi* and *chaudri* are vested in one and the same person. Both offices are hereditary, the eldest son ordinarily succeeding his father in the office, though in cases of unfitness the *panchāyat* may select a man even from another family. In the Native States of Kalāt and Las Bēla, the appointments require the confirmation of the State. The number of *panch* or members (also called *paryā-muns* in some places) varies in various localities. Where the number of families is small, the head of each family is recognised as a *panch*; in larger communities only men of influence and affluence and representatives of various sections, (Brahmans included) serve as members. There are, however, no hard and fast rules for election or appointment. Cases where every head of a family is a *panch* are the *panchāyats* of Bārkhān, Mēkhtar, Duki and Nushki;

instances of *pañchāyats* with a fixed number of members are those of Quetta, Sibi, Kahān, Dera Bugṭī, Bhāg, Dhāḍar, Mastung, Kalāt, Lahṛī and Las Bēla. The *mukhi* of the Chūhaṛ Kōṭ *pañchāyat* in Bārkhān is a Brahman. The income of the *pañchāyat* is raised from the Hindu community within its local jurisdiction, and the funds are expended irrespective of the sects to which the local places of worship and *sādhus* and *fakīrs* may belong. Thus if the village has a Sikh Dharamsāla, a temple of the Daryā Pīr, and another of Dēvi, all will be supported from the common funds. The *pañchāyats* in fact are not caste, but village bodies.

Each village *pañchāyat* is self-contained and acts independently of other *pañchāyats*. But in dealing with serious breaches of social practice several *pañchāyats* may combine to give a decision. They also combine when a delinquent refuses to abide by the award of his own *pañchāyat*. Thus if a Hindu of Lahṛī is charged with a serious social offence, the Lahṛī *pañchāyat* invites the *pañchāyats* of the neighbouring villages of Phulēji, Chhattar and Shāhpur. Similarly the Sibi *pañchāyat* might consult the *pañchāyats* of Kurk, Gulu Shahr and Khajjak, and even of Dhāḍar. The Nushki *pañchāyat* also deals with cases from the small Hindu community of Shorāwak across the border in Afghānistān.

Pañchāyats of Quetta. Quetta, with its mixture of aliens and domiciled Hindus, is of course peculiar.

When Quetta was under the Khān of Kalāt, the small Hindu community of Taldārs and Kachhiwāls living in the fort had a small *pañchāyat* which settled trade disputes and punished the infringement of caste rules, being able to enforce its decisions by moral force. When the new town of Quetta grew up, with its mixed and varied population, other *pañchāyats* came into existence. Among the aliens, there are the despotic *pañchāyats* of the Dhōbis, Mōchis, Gwālas, the Syces and the untouchables, the sweepers and the Chamārs—*pañchāyats* which still exercise a wholesome control over their members. Then there are the Sikh Sab-

has, and the Arya Samājas with their Managing Committees which serve as *pañchāyats* of these communities. The traders have their various *pañchāyats* based on territorial rather than caste distinctions :—

1. The Panjābi *pañchāyat*.
2. The Kachhiwāl *pañchāyat*.
3. The Shikārpuri *pañchāyat*.
4. The Hyderābādi *pañchāyat*.
5. The Kandahāri *pañchāyat*.
6. The Taldār *pañchāyat*.
7. The Derawāl *pañchāyat*, and
8. The General Quetta *pañchāyat*.

Except the Panjābi and Derawāl *pañchāyats*, which are in a state of transition and have not yet settled their constitution, each has its *mukhi* and *chaudri*, men of influence and means acting as members. In matters of *Dharam Khāta*—charity organisation—the Shikārpuri, Kandahāri, Taldār, and Derawāl *pañchāyats* work together and are considered as one body. Besides these territorial *pañchāyats* there is a general *pañchāyat*, which was reconstituted in 1911, and contains besides the *Sarpanch*, 2 Kachhiwāls, 2 Hyderābādīs, 3 Panjābis, 2 Taldārs, 2 Kandahāris, 2 Shikārpuris, 1 Derawāl, and one Mārwarī member.

In the old days these *pañchāyats* settled trade and other disputes, assisted at the various

The functions of the *pañchāyats*.

domestic ceremonies, maintained the places of worship, fed the poor, and dealt with offences against the general practices of the local Hindus. In the districts unfortunately, their authority has sadly diminished, and in the more important centres most of the disputes and even trade disputes are referred to the Courts. A typical illustration of the decline of *pañchāyat* authority is to be found in the case of Mēkhtar.

In pre-British days everything was decided by the *pañchāyat*. In civil disputes the *pañchāyat* heard the parties, examined the accounts and gave an award which the parties

accepted. For petty offences the aggressor was made to go to the house of the aggrieved and ask forgiveness. In more serious cases the damages would take the form of the compensation, or the giving of a *bāzu* or girl in marriage. If any one was dissatisfied with the decision of the local *panchāyat*, he would sometimes go to a larger neighbouring *panchāyat* and the leaders of both *panchāyats* would meet and settle the case, their joint award being final. The main object which the *panchāyat* kept in view was to make the parties satisfied with each other. In cases of infringement of social practice, the delinquent was punished by a small fine, was made to feed a Brahman, or graze village cows barefooted for a specified number of days, or to fast, while in serious cases he had to drink a mixture of Ganges water and cow urine or to make pilgrimage to Hardwār. Moreover in those days each Hindu had a *gōi* or protector in some influential tribesman (§6) and the cases between him and the tribesmen were settled through the intervention of the *gōi*. But now all is changed, cases civil and criminal, whether between the Hindus themselves or between the Hindus and the tribesmen, are taken into Courts. Now-a-days almost the only functions left to the *panchāyats* are the maintenance of places of worship, participation in domestic ceremonies and the enforcement of the recognised forms of life. Owing no doubt to the Musalmān environment the number of caste offences and consequent penances have happily been reduced to a minimum. Drinking water fetched by a Musalmān, marrying a widow and other offences which elsewhere in India may entail the extreme penalty of exclusion from the caste, are not only tolerated but are the practices of every-day life. The acts which are generally recognised as the violation of common practices — I advisedly do not call them caste rules — are :—

- (a) Eating food cooked by a Muhammadan ;
- (b) Smoking the *hukka* of a Muhammadan (yet smoking his *gadri* or clay pipe is permissible) ;
- (c) Eating fowls and eggs ;

- (d) Killing a cow, a cat or a dog, severely beating a cow or selling a cow to a butcher ;
- (e) Adultery ;
- (f) In some places, receiving consideration in cash or kind for a girl given in marriage, or exchanging girls in marriage ; and
- (g) Insulting a Brahman.

The more common punishments a *panchāyat* awards are :—

- (i) a warning ;
- (ii) fine (*dand*) which is credited to the *panchāyat* funds ;
- (iii) grazing a number of cows for a fixed number of days; feeding cows on cotton seeds ; or feeding a specified number of Brahmans ;
- (iv) a shoe beating or attending a place of worship for a specified number of days and cleaning the shoes of those who attend ;
- (v) presenting a cow to a Brahman ;
- (vi) drinking Ganges water and cow urine for purification ;
- (vii) making a pilgrimage to one of the local sacred streams or to Hardwār, and
- (viii) *Nar-khasna*—exclusion from the *hukka* when no one will smoke from the same pipe with him. This amounts to excommunication from the brotherhood.

The last two punishments are awarded for such extreme offences as the killing of a cow, dog, cat, etc., eating food prepared by a Muhammadan, and in localities where bride-price is regarded as social offence, for persisting to take it after being warned. Disobedience of the award of a *pan-*

chāyat is also considered a serious social offence. But the *pañchāyats* have nothing but social pressure to enforce their awards, and their authority is on the wane.

Each *pañchāyat* has a fund called *Dharamkhātā*. The principal sources of income are

The income of the *pañchāyats*. (a) A small fee levied on goods

imported by the Hindus into the village. This is levied at fixed rates which vary in different localities. In some places in Kalāt it is levied both on imports and exports. (b) Fees levied at fixed rates on various domestic events as the birth of a son, investing a boy with the sacrificial thread, marriage; and (c) Fines for the infringement of social practices. In some of the smaller localities, again, the *pañchāyat* has no fixed sources of income, and special subscriptions are raised from each family to meet special expenses. In such places, however, the Brahmans and Sādhus in charge of temples are paid fixed donations in cash or kind at stated times and also on the occasion of the birth of a son, investiture with sacred thread and marriage.

The following table, which contains figures for a few selected localities only, will illustrate the principal sources of income of the *pañchāyats* :—

Locality.	Octroi fees.	Fees on domestic ceremonies.						REMARKS.
		Birth of a son.	Tonsure or Jhand.	Janco or sacred thread.	Betrothal.	Virgin.	Marriage with a Widow.	
Quetta ...	6 pies per rupee paid as Octroi.	1-0-0	1-0-0	2-0-0	...	5-0-0	..	In Dera Bugti and Kahan the fees levied on betrothal and marriage include both the <i>panchayat</i> dues and contributions to local places of worship. In case of marriage with a Marwari woman the fees in Dera Bugti are 19-10-0 (for a virgin) and 52-0-0 (for a widow);
Sibi ...	1 per cent. on imports except grains.	1-0-0	..	1-4-0	...	6-4-0	..	
Dhādār ...	0-2-3 per rupee ...	1-8-0	..	3-2-0	...	15-0-0	..	
Lahri ...	2 pies per maund on grain imports and exports—on other articles rates vary.	0-6-0	..	...	8-0-0	2-0-0	..
Kalāt ...	Rates vary ...	0-5-0	..	1-0-0	...	5-4-0	..	
Dera Bugti ...	0-1-0 per maund.	2-8-0	..	5-4-0	10-4-0	15-4-0	26-0-0	
Kahan ...	0-1-0 per maund.	2-8-0	..	5-4-0	10-4-0	31-4-0	..	
Las Béla ...	0-8-9 per cent. on piece-goods.	7-0-0	16-2-0	8-1-0	
	0-1-0 per cent. on other articles.	levied at the commencement of ninth month of pregnancy.						

The money thus raised is devoted to the maintenance of the various local places of worship and the cremation grounds ; and to the feeding of the poor, *sādhus* and *fakīrs* who may visit the place. Thus in Quetla out of every 24 pies they raise, the various *pañchāyats* devote five to places of worship, four to providing the needs of *sādhus* and *fakīrs* that come from outside, and the balance on feeding the local poor, and in meeting other expenses of the *pañchāyat*. The Panjābi *pañchāyat* raises special subscriptions to meet similar expenses. Fixed payments to men in charge of the local temples are made under the authority of the *mukhī*, who can also incur small expenditure for feeding the *sādhus*, but he has to obtain the sanction of the *pañchāyat* if a large sum has to be expended. The accounts are kept either by the *mukhī*, the *chaudri*, or in some cases by a *mōdī* (treasurer) appointed by the *pañchāyat* from among the members. The *ṭahlwa* is usually appointed by the *mukhī* ; he is a general servant who collects the *pañchāyat* dues, carries out the instructions of the *mukhī*, communicates to the *pañch* news of important social events and dispenses the charities of the *pañchāyat* under the *mukhī* or *chaudri's* orders. The *ṭahlwa* is paid a fixed monthly rate.

31. The ten principal *sanskāras* or sacraments generally recognised by the orthodox Hindus are :—

The *Sānskārās*.

1. The *garbha dhāna*, or consummation of marriage.
2. The *pumsavana*, wish for obtaining a male child, performed in the second, third or fourth month of pregnancy.
3. The *simantan-nayana*, or the parting of the mother's hair at the seventh month.
4. The *jāta-karma*, or the birth.

¹ Advanced Text Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics, pages 71-74.

5. The *nāma-karana*, or the naming.
6. The *anna prāshana*, or first feeding with solid food.
7. The *chūra karana*, or the tonsure.
8. The *upānayana*, or the investiture with the sacred thread.
9. The *samavartan*, or returning home after completing education.
10. The *vivāh*, or marriage.

A detailed ritual is prescribed for each, with the *mantras* or texts to be recited. The first three *sanskāras* are designed to sanctify the procreative act and to protect both mother and child ; the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh relate to childhood, while the *upānayana* constitutes the boy a *dvijah*—a twice-born, and introduces him to a preceptor ; the ninth celebrates the completion of his education, and by the tenth he enters upon the *grahast* or the duties of a householder. The domiciled Hindus of Balachistān, however, recognise seven of the sacraments only, omitting the *garbha dhāna*, the *pumsavana* and the *samavartana*, and even in the seven they are less particular about the *shāstriya* or scriptural rites, which are left in the hands of the Brahmans and the family priests, than they are about the rites prescribed by the feminine tradition (*strī achār*) or family custom (*kul achār*). Their Brahmans are themselves mostly ignorant of the *shāstras*, though they usually know enough to be able to recite some texts by rote, which serve to satisfy the religious cravings of their followers, without feeling the necessity or desirability of explaining the text or even the marriage vows. The ceremonies described hereafter are observed generally by all Hindus, be they Nānak Shāhīs, Daryā Panthīs, worshippers of Dēvis and others, with slight local modifications.

32. Like their brethren in India, they believe that “ a son
secures three worlds, a grandson
Desire for offspring. bliss, and a great-grandson a
seat even above the highest heavens. By begetting a

virtuous son one saves oneself as well as the seven preceding and seven following generations." Hence their ardent desire to beget sons.

If a woman fails to conceive, she resorts to a Brahman or even to a Mulla or *fakīr* for a charm, or visits the shrine of some well-known *pīr* or saint, who is believed to have power to bless the childless. The Hindus of Bārkhān use a medicine, composed of *ajwain*, *musāji*, *phōg* and *panūr* seeds for this purpose. If children die young, the same measures are adopted. The most efficacious charm is the following :—

The childless woman takes water from seven different wells, tanks, streams or springs, and into it places leaves of seven kinds of fruit-bearing trees. She doffs her clothes, wraps a cotton sheet around her, and sits over the board of a spinning wheel (*charkha*) under the wooden spout (*parnāla*) of a house, with some of the leaves under her feet. Another woman, who has living children, mounts to the top of the house, and pours the water on the roof so that it trickles over the childless woman through the spout. Then she dons new clothes, and cohabits with her husband the self-same night. This charm is believed to effect immediate impregnation, to give long life to children, and to cause the birth of a boy in cases where successive girls have been born.

In Dēra Bugṭī, Kahān, Kachhī and Quetta the childless woman is made to wear on her right leg a ring made of iron taken off a sunken boat. A similar ring is also put on the right ankle of a daughter when it is desired that the next issue should be a son. In Jhal a girl born after three boys is considered so unlucky that she wears this ring for life. Such a girl is known as *trikhar*.

33. The third sacrament *simantan nayana* (locally known as *bhōrē*, *kanji*, *tāl*, or *rīt*), is generally observed at the beginning of the seventh month of a pregnancy.

woman's first pregnancy. But the ceremony is dispensed with in the case of a remarried widow, even if she become pregnant for the first time. In most parts of the country it is a rite almost entirely restricted to the females; males seldom take part in it.

In Nasirābād and Nushkī, the women of the family set up a *dēv* or godling on the preceding night. This consists of a wooden vessel of the shape of a *kāsa* (grain measure). Two measures of wheat and a measure of rice, an earthen pot (*ghara*), $\frac{1}{4}$ seer of *gur*, a mortar, a pestle, and an earthen lamp lighted, are placed close to a wall. Next morning the rice is put in the *ghara*, and the *ghara* is placed over a fire. It is believed that the rice on three sides only of the *ghara* is cooked. The cooked rice is distributed among the kinsfolk. The wheat is ground into flour, and baked into *bhusri* (sweet cake). When the *bhusri* is ready, the ends of skirts of wife and husband are knotted together and they are seated on two wooden plates (*pātris*). Oil is brought in a cup; first a virgin girl, and then a Brahman dip the tips of their forefingers in the oil and anoint with it the forehead of the husband and the forehead and back of the wife.

In other parts of the country the ceremony is more simple. Kinswomen assemble; the family priest performs the *nao grah pūja* * (worship of the nine planets), and obtains his fee; and *sira* (*halwa*), boiled rice, *mung dāl* or *juāri*, are distributed among the kinsfolk. In Las Bēla, the Hindus perform a second ceremony in the beginning of the 9th

* The *nao grah* are the *suryā* or *ravi* (sun), *chandrā* or *sōmā* (moon), *mangalā* (Mars), *budhā* (Mercury), *vrihaspati* (Jupiter), *sukrā* (Venus), *santā* (Saturn), *rāhā* (ascending node) and *kētū* (descending node). The days of the week are named after the first seven of these: *ravi-vārā* (Sunday), *sōmā-vārā* (Monday), *Mangalā-vārā* (Tuesday), *budhā-vārā* (Wednesday), *vrihaspati-vārā* (Thursday), *sukrā-vārā* (Friday) and *santā-vārā* (Saturday). Each of the *grahs* is represented by a particular image, and it is believed that persons born under the influence of each of them possess peculiar characteristics, and their destinies are governed by the *grahs*.

month, when rice cooked in *gur* and *mung dāl* are distributed among the relations, and the *panchāyat* is paid a fee of Rs. 7. If her parents live in the same village, the wife goes to them for her first confinement and stays there for forty days, until she is ceremonially purified.

34. The womenfolk observe many a sign in a pregnant woman from which they divine
Divining the sex of a child. the sex of the child in her womb.

Thus a woman great with a boy is bright, and has a liking for sweet food; the right side of her womb and her right breast are heavy, she walks with brisk step and her milk is thick; while a woman great with a girl is drowsy, peevish and irritable; has a liking for sour articles, chews charcoal and clay; the left side of her womb and her left breast are heavy. She walks with slow steps, and her milk is thin.

In Nasirābād, a *bhusri* or sweet cake is baked, broken into pieces, and rolled up into a ball (*ladḍū*) and a needle is inserted. The father must then break and eat the *ladḍū*. If the point of the needle is first exposed, it betokens a boy, otherwise it is sure to be a girl.

35. When a son is born in Nasirābād to worshippers of the goddess Narāni they bake
Jāta karma or the birth. seven *bhusris* of wheat flour and
take them with $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of *gur*, 2 feet of red country cloth and an earthen pot (*dikhi*) filled with water and a fee of Re. 1/6 to the village goldsmith. He retains the red cloth for his *guru* (spiritual leader), sprinkles water from the *dikhi* over the *bhusris*, keeps five and returns two. These two *bhusris* are broken up by the family and distributed among the kinsfolk. The worshippers of the goddess Durga bake five or seven *bhusris*, take these to a river, canal, tank or well, throw one piece in the water, one piece to a dog, one piece in the hole of a rat, give a piece to a *niāni* (a daughter of the family) and distribute the rest among those who happen to be present.

In many places the birth of a son is announced by the woman who assists at the confinement or by a girl of the

family, or else by the firing of a gun from the top of the house; a small present being made for the announcement. The midwife (*dāi*) or the old woman who assists at the confinement washes the new born babe, cuts the umbilical cord with a piece of reed, knife or scissors, and wraps the babe in cloth and places it on the bed. Sugar-candy dissolved in water is poured in the babe's mouth to cleanse the bowels. The women come to congratulate the mother and other members of the family, while the kinsmen congratulate the father. Little notice is taken of the birth of a girl. If the first child of the marriage be a girl, or a second or third girl be born in succession, it is a cause of grief rather than rejoicing.

36. The mother does not nurse the babe for 12 or 24

Nursing the child. hours, or 72 hours; and in some places not until she has seen the

evening star. In Bārkhān and Mēkhtar, the babe (if a boy) is suckled during this interval by a Muhammadan woman, who has a girl at her breast, the apparent reason for selecting a Muhammadan woman being the fear of fosterage, which is a subsequent bar to marriage. Elsewhere, the child is nursed by a relation in whose family marriage cannot take place. The mother's teats are bathed with cow's milk mixed with Ganges water by an elderly female of the family, or by a girl, and some milk is drawn off; and the mother usually begins to suckle the child from her right breast irrespective of the sex of the child. In Quetta, Kalāt and Mastung, however, a boy is first nursed from the right, and a girl from the left breast. The woman or the girl who washes the breasts is given a small present varying from four annas to Rs. 2-8.

37. The mother does not ordinarily leave the house for forty days, called *chalia* or *chila*.

Treatment of the mother after the confinement.

In some places, a piece of cotton cloth (*shafa*) soaked in a mixture of *gur* and aniseed (*ajwāin*) is placed in her private parts for three consecutive days, to allow a free discharge of the

impure blood. For the first three days her food consists of a preparation of ghī, cummin seed, ginger, turmeric, almonds, pistachio nuts or other heating substances; from the fourth to the seventh day she eats bread made of flour in which a large quantity of ghī is mixed, and from the 8th day she begins to take light food. She has her first bath on the 5th or the 7th day and in the opinion of a lady doctor of considerable experience a good deal of the mortality after child-birth is due to this early bath. She is now allowed to leave her bed, and move about the house: but she must not touch the family food for fear of pollution. In Bārkhān, the child is also given a bath the same day, and an amulet obtained from a Brahman or a Mulla placed round its neck. Donkey dung mixed in water is sprinkled on the child's clothes, and some is kept under the bed. The iron chain of the village gate is washed in water and a little of this water is poured into the child's mouth. In Quetta mustard seed is sprinkled about the mother's bed, a piece of assafoetida tied to one foot of the bed, and an iron lock to another foot. All these devices are to ward off evil spirits. The mother has her second bath on the 11th or the 13th day, and is then given a mixture for her purification. In some places this mixture consists of the *pañch-ratan* or five delicacies:—Ganges water, cow dung, cow urine, milk and honey. In other places the mixture consists of Ganges water, cow urine and leaves of the *tulsi* plant (*Ocimum Sanctum*). Then she performs the *pūjā* or worship of *Bīdh Mātā*, the goddess of children. For this purpose, a place is smeared with cow dung, an image of the goddess made of dough is placed on it and covered with a piece of red cloth. About a pound of gram is offered to the goddess together with some pice which are the perquisite of the midwife. The mother bows before the goddess and prays for the preservation and long life of the child. She is now ceremonially pure, and can cook and touch food. She has a third bath on the 20th or 21st day, and her final one on the fortieth day, when she can leave the house and engage in her household work.

38. Not much notice is taken of the birth of a girl. On the day of her birth, the eldest of the kinswomen who are assembled, gives her a name, and in some places boiled wheat or *juāri* is distributed. The Nushki Hindus, however, name the girl on the 5th day. Among the Bēlāro Hindus of Las Bēla and Taldārs of Quetta, the girl is given a second name at her marriage by her husband's family.

Among most of the Hindus, a son is given a name on the day of his birth either by the females of the family themselves or in consultation with a Brahman, but even in such cases the ceremony generally known as *chhatti* is performed on the sixth day, and in Las Bēla on the 11th day. The family priest is called; he performs the *pūjā*, announces the name given on the day of birth, or selects a name if this was not done before. The name thus given, with the time, day and date of birth is recorded in the family *bandi* or account book. The Brahman is paid his fees in cash or kind; in Las Bēla he gets $\frac{1}{2}$ *topa* of crushed rice, 11 dates and one betel-nut. Sweets, *sēsa* (cooked gram) or *kōhal* (cooked wheat) are distributed among the kinsfolk. The Duki Hindus, however, kill a goat, cook the meat and distribute it among their friends, both Hindu and Muhammadan. In Bārkhān, the midwife brings seven bows and arrows made of green twigs; one set is placed under the bed just below the head of the child, and the other six are hung on the walls of the room. A similar custom prevails in Nushki and Sibi. In Nushki, however, only five sets are used, of which one is returned to the midwife and four hung in the four corners of the birth chamber; in Sibi all the bows and arrows are hung to the bed on which mother and child are lying. To the string of each of these bows, the Sibi Hindus tie a piece of donkey dung (*gulēliān*), and some of the families consider it lucky to hang an old shoe (*gēlla*) in front of the door of their house. They cannot explain the object with which these bows and arrows are used. Are

they a relic of the old days when the Aryas were afraid of the aborigines or *Dasyū*s and had to perform their religious and domestic ceremonies under arms?

Now according to the *Shāstras*¹, the child should be named on the 12th day after the birth; and the first part of a Brahman's compound name should indicate holiness, of a Kshatriya's power, of a Vaishya's wealth, and of a Sudra's contempt; the second part of a Brahman's name should imply prosperity, of a soldier's preservation, of a merchant's wandering and of a servant's humble attendance. The names of women should be agreeable, soft, clear, captivating the fancy, auspicious, ending in long vowels, and resembling words of benediction. But the domiciled Hindus pay little heed to these injunctions. The names both of men and women are short: such as *Lilā*, *Dharmā*, *Hemla*, *Dhanā* and *Khōtā* for boys; and *Lālān*, *Wāri*, *Padma*, *Machhli*, *Kakli*, and *Tōti* for girls. The name *Khōtā* (donkey) is sometimes given to a first son to keep off evil spirits.

39. A girl is given a shirt (*chōla*) between the first and sixth day of her birth. With a son it varies. In *Mekhtar* he is given a *chōla* on the day of birth; in *Quetta*, *Duki* and *Nushki* on the *chhattī*; in *Bhāg* on the 7th day; in *Nasirābād* on the 11th day; in *Bārkhan* on the 40th day; in *Sibi*, *Dhādar*, *Lahrī*, *Kalāt* and *Mastung* at the end of three months. The first *chōla* is often made of old cloth that has been worn by an old man of the family or some saintly person, or which has served as a covering for a sacred book or an idol. In *Nasirābād* it is presented by the mother's family. The kinswomen assemble for the ceremony, and are given parched *juāri*, mixed with almonds and raisins, and sweet porridge or rice, or other sweets. In *Kalāt* and *Mastung*, the child is placed in the lap of a grey-beard who blesses him wishing him long life. In some places, the child is also placed in a *pingū* (cradle) on the same day.

¹ Manu, II, 30-33.

In Mēkhtar and Duki, Hindu boys, like the Musalmān tribesmen, do not don trousers (*partūk*) until they are five or six years or more. No particular ceremony is observed on this occasion.

40. A round head, a broad flat forehead, a long, thin, high and pointed nose, and small ears, are looked upon as marks of beauty in both sexes. In Kachhī and Bēla, the infant's body is rubbed with a paste of *atta* and *ghī* for the first 40 days. This removes the superfluous hair from the body, and also the blue patches which are found on some of the infants. To give the head a rounded shape various devices are used. Ordinarily a cloth bandage is tied round the head; in Kachhī, a round cotton ball (*khutnṛī*) is placed under the head; in Sibi the head is gently pressed by the mother every day with the sole of her foot, the head is rested in a broken earthen cup, stuffed with cotton or cloth. Great care is taken to see that the child in its infancy lies on the back, and not on the side of its head.

41. Among the Quetta and the Lahṛī Hindus and others, when the boy is five months old, the grandfather (maternal or paternal) or some other greybeard of the family takes the boy in his lap (*kuchhar*) and blesses him wishing him long life, and is given some sugarcandy in return.

In Bārkhān, a boy on the completion of the 6th month is lifted on to his back of a greybeard of the family who gives the boy a small sum of money, blesses him with long life, and receives a piece of sugarcandy. Sugarcandy is also distributed among the kinsfolk. The Khetrān Balōch of Bārkhān, who are of course Musalmāns, also observe this custom.

42. If the boy does not begin to talk freely within a reasonable time, he is given, in Talking. Bārkhān, water out of which a sparrow has first drunk, and a piece of cake baked of dough which has first been rubbed over a kind of drum called

tabla. In Lahri, he is made to eat the head of a partridge roasted on embers, and in Bhag any food which has been touched by a sparrow or a parrot. These devices of course loosen his tongue and he becomes as chirpy as a sparrow or a partridge and as loud as a drum.

43. A child is given his first solid but still plain food,

The *anna prashan* or feeding with solid food.

such as *khichri* (rice and *dāl* cooked together), on the completion of the seventh month in Bārkhān and Mēkhtar, and elsewhere at the end of 12 months. Though this is one of the Hindu sacraments, they observe no ceremonies on the occasion, and no prayers are offered. It is more a matter for the women, in which neither the men of the family nor the Brahmans have any part.

44. A mother nurses her child, male or female, for

Weaning the child.

three years; but it would of course be weaned earlier should she become pregnant. At the end of the nursing she applies some bitter drug to her teats such as *elwa*, *nīm*, or *rasaunt*, and sometimes blackens them with charcoal or the soot of a cooking pan to frighten the child. In some communities, *marundās* (balls made of parched grain mixed with *gur*) are distributed among the kinsfolk on the day the child is weaned. In Nushki, a number of *marundās* are placed on a water skin, and the child is asked to take as many as he likes; and the number of *marundās* he takes will be the same as the number of days he will tease his mother for milk.

45. When a boy is strong enough to stand, sweet cakes

First steps.

(called *pēr mani*) are baked, and he is set on his legs by the mother, and one of these cakes is placed between his legs, and cut with a sharp knife. Pieces of the cake are distributed among the kinswomen. In Quetta, a cake or *marundā* is placed on an earthen pot filled with water, and the boy is led towards it. If he stumbles, the entrails of a sheep or else a thread is wrapped round his legs and cut with a sharp knife. This is believed to help him a lot.

46. *Munan* or *jhand*, the first shaving, is performed in Quetta on the first *Dusahra*; in *Munan* or *jhand*, tonsure. Bārkhān, Nushki, Bēla and Mēkhtar at the end of 12 months; in Mastung and Kalāt at the end of 5, 7, or 9 months; in Kachhī on the first *Dusahra*, but should the first *Dusahra* fall within three months of a child's birth, then on the second *Dusahra*; in Nasirābād on the second *Dusahra* or *Baisākhi*; in the Bugṭi and Marī country on any *Dusahra* within 2½ years; in Sibi at the end of the fifth or the seventh year. In most places it is divested of all religious sanctity, the services of a Brahman not being requisitioned. A barber shaves the head of the child in a *dharmsāla*, a *mandir*, or on the bank of a canal, stream, well or water, or at the shrine of a saint; the relatives who are invited make small presents (*ghor*) which are handed over to the barber. Sweets or boiled grain are distributed. The hair is either buried on the bank of a stream or thrown into the water. In some parts of the country, a second shaving is performed at the shrine of a saint if the parents have so vowed. Thus in Bēla, the shaving is done at one of the local shrines: Shāh Bilāwal, Mirānpīr, Adampīr, Shāh Jamāl, Fidai-Hussain, Bhanbhōr pīr, Mūsa Niāni or Khizar Hyāt. In Bārkhān and Mēkhtar the child is taken to the shrine of Sakhī Sarwar; or if the shaving is done locally, the hair is kept in a piece of cloth and when the *mujāwar* or attendant of Sakhī Sarwar comes on his periodical visits, he mixes with the hair some earth (*pagōra*) brought from the shrine, receives the weight of the hair in silver, and buries it in the precincts of the shrine. Some well-to-do families present him with a calf in addition. The Hindus of Dēra Bugṭi have such faith in Pir Sohri, the patron saint of the Bugṭis, that they shave their children at his shrine, unless the saint's approval has first been obtained to the shaving in the village. This approval is determined by casting lots (*tir dēag*), a system borrowed from the Balōch who adopt it to decide many a knotty point. Some pellets are taken, one being marked with a sign to represent the *pīr*. They are then drawn, and if one with the *pīr*'s sign comes

out first, the *pīr* has given his approval. The child is then shaved, his hair tied in cloth and sent to the shrine with an offering of a goat or a sheep ; otherwise he must be taken to the shrine to be shaved as soon as the parents can arrange it. Some of the Bārkhān Hindus shave their boys in the Khetrān Chief's house underneath the water spout of the roof. In Mungachar, the shaving is done under the *gwan* (pistachio Khanjak) tree near the sacred Mārūf spring ; in Bhāg at the shrine of Taiyār Ghāzi or at Govardhan-di-Maṛhi.

47. Boring holes in the children's ears does not seem to be recognised as a rite of any importance. In Quetta, the boring is done when the child is about six months old ; in Bārkhān and Lahṛī when he is invested with the sacred thread ; in other places no time seems to be fixed. But among all, children of both sexes have their ears bored at a tender age, and the girls have also a hole bored in the nose for nose-rings.

48. The ceremony of investing a boy with the sacred or sacrificial thread, known in the *Janjā* or investing the boy with the sacred thread. Shāstras as *yagyo-pavīta*, and locally as *janeo*, *janjū*, or *janṛiyū*, is an important one for the Hindus of the first three *varnas* : the fourth and lowest order of course is not entitled to wear it.

Manu puts the age for investiture at the fifth year for a Brahman, the sixth for a Kshatriya and the eighth for a Vaishya, with the extreme limit at the 16th, 22nd, and 24th years respectively. According to the Shāstric ordinances, the boy is dressed in a *kaupīna* (loin cloth) and then in a new garment, and wears a girdle of *munja* grass, if a Brahman ; of bow string, if a Kshatriya ; of woollen thread, if a Vaishya. The *acharya* (priest) puts on him, according to his caste, an antelope skin, a spotted deer skin, or a cow skin ; and knots the girdle round him with the *yajno-pavītam*, the sacrificial thread. Then after certain questions and answers he sprinkles him with water, recites some

mantras and formulas, and placing his hand on the pupil's heart, he says : " Under my will I take thy heart, my mind shall thy mind follow ; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart ; may Brahaspati join thee to me." He then teaches him the *gāyatri*,¹ and gives him a staff, the length and the wood of which vary according to his caste. The whole ceremony represents the spiritual birth of the boy.

Though it has lost its real significance, the form of the ancient ceremony is still retained by the domiciled Hindus of this Muhammadan Province. The age at which the boy is invested with the sacred thread varies in various parts from the 5th to the 12th year ; the lowest (5—7 years) being in Kachhī and Bārkhān, and the highest (5—12 years) in Mastung, Kalāt and Nushki. The ceremony is performed by a Brahman on an auspicious day, like the Baisākhi, or the wedding of a relation. It is a curious touch that two boys—brothers, cousins or even distant relations—must be invested at one and the same time ; if a second boy is not available, he must be represented by a brass *lōṭā* or, as in Mēkhtar, by a piece of wood or reed. The boy is taken by his relatives and friends to the edge of a stream, canal, spring or well ; his head is shaved ; the priest recites some Sanskrit verses and girds him with the thread. The thread is usually worn across the left shoulder, but in several places it is tied round the neck. The priest then whispers a *mantra* in his ear ; but it is rarely the sacred verse of the *gāyatri*, or that instruction in purification, in old customs, in the management of the consecrated fire, and in the holy rites of morning, noon and evening, Manu² ordains, but is usually the following exhortation :—

" Never make water in the hole of a rat ; never strike a cow ; do not harm a Brahman and do not wake him if he be asleep."

In Bārkhān, the investiture usually takes place at Rām Tirath, or at a spring near the shrine of Sakhī Sarwar ;

¹ A sacred verse repeated at daily prayers.

II. 69.

in Las Bēla at the shrine of Shāh Bilāwal ; in Bhāg at Jind Pir and in Shōrān at Hari Sar.

After the investiture a basket containing a pen, inkpot, and writing board (*takhtī*), to which is added in Mēkhtar a small wooden spade (*phahōra*), is placed over the boy's head ; he goes abegging from his relatives (who put small coins in the basket, which become the priest's perquisites) and then pretends to leave home to prosecute his studies—the original object of the *upnayanam*. One of his sisters or another unmarried female relative entreats him not to leave ; this is repeated three times ; and the boy finally yields. Sweets, *kutti* (broken bread mixed with sugar) and *sīra* are distributed ; and in well-to-do families a feast is given to the relatives and friends. Until a boy has been invested with a sacred thread, his parents do not object to his eating and drinking freely with Musalmāns.

49. Even though the original territorial distinction (Utrā-dhi, Dakhana and Dahra) is still maintained in a few places, these groups have ceased to be endogamous, except in Nasirābād where the Utrādhis and Dakhanas still marry within their own group, though the Utrādhis, considering themselves superior, condescend to take girls from the Dakhanas. Again in Las Bēla the Belāro and Pardēsi—groups based mainly on length of residence in the country (§26)—generally keep to themselves, though intermarriages are not absolutely proscribed. Though similar groups exist elsewhere, *e.g.*, in Kalāt, Mastung, Quetta and Nushki, they are not endogamous. Being all Arōras there are no hypergamous sub-castes or groups and it may appear strange that several cases are known of Sunāras having married Arōra girls. No less than four cases have occurred in the one village of Khajjak near Sibi ; but there was only one case of an Arōra marrying a Sunāra woman.

As regards the limits of consanguinity, they observe much the same restrictions as are recognised in Dēra Ghāzi Khān ¹

¹ A compendium of the Punjab Customary Law, Chapter I, Part B.

and in Sind, but there are slight local modifications. Among both the Taldār and Kachhiwāl Hindus of Quetta a man may marry his maternal or paternal aunt's son's daughter. In Nasirābād marriage can be contracted by parties who are not related either on the father or mother's side for three generations; in Las Bēla a man may not marry a girl who is related to him for 4 generations on the mother's side or for 7 generations on the father's side; in Nasirābād a man may marry his wife's sister if his first wife is dead, or childless. In some parts of the country marriages in the same families are preferred; thus if a family has four sons and another four daughters, the parents of the girls prefer to marry to them the four brothers.

50. In one important aspect of marriage they are self-contained. They will not give their girls in marriage to aliens—Panjābis and others, however high their caste, though they have considerably widened their own field in taking wives themselves going beyond their sub-castes and groups, nay even beyond the pale of Hindu society. There have been marriages in the Bugṭi country, Makrān, Jhalawān and Lahri with Mārwarī women. About 18 years ago some women came from Mārwar, and they were married for a consideration to the Hindus of Lahri, who had to pay a small amount to the *panchāyat* as a penalty. The following cases may be mentioned :—

Name and sub-caste of the Hindu who married a Mārwarī woman.	The amount paid for the woman.	Penalty paid to the <i>panchāyat</i> .
	Rs.	Rs.
Tōta, Drabla	500	75
Ghanda, Mērāni	1,000	25
Chhinkū, Lulla	500	50
Mūraj, Lulla	240	50
Mewal of Kaṭpār	300	50

The actual caste of these women was not known, and one was subsequently found to be a Musalmān by a curious incident. The wife of Chhinkū, Lulla, when beginning to grind corn in a hand mill, uttered the word '*Bismillah*' an invocation used by Muhammadans when beginning any work. She was at once suspected of being a Musalmān and turned out by her husband. She then went and married a Musalmān in Kurk in the Sibi tahsil.

51. There have been several instances of formal connection with Musalmān women of the country both in olden and recent times, the most historical of course being the marriage of the Rājput Hindus who eventually became the Gichki rulers of Makrān. In recent times three instances of such connections have come to notice, and there are no doubt others:—

1st. Chōzhān of Nushki took some forty years ago as his wife, a Musalmān girl, named sharū, a serf of Mīr Shāh Fakīrzai Rakhshānī, by whom he had a daughter who was subsequently married to Shādi Khān, son of Dōst Muhammad Barēch, Nāib of Chāgāi. Chōzhān and his wife live in separate tents (*gidān*) in Ahmadwāl near Nushki and have separate arrangements for food.

2nd. A Hindu of Sehwan, who lived and traded in Jau in Jhalawān, took as wife a serf girl, by whom he had a son named Zahri and two daughters. He died recently and left all his property in Jau to his son Zāhri.

3rd. Chaudhri Ratan Mall, Serāi Arōra Hindu, of Gwādar, now trading in Pasni on the sea coast in Makrān married a Makrānī whom he obtained about 25 years ago for a small cash payment from her former master Shāh Bēg of Kalag Sawi. He has had two daughters (Gullatūn and Murō) and three sons (Laln, Willū, and Barū) by her; the eldest daughter was married, with the consent of both parents, to a Muhammadan. The woman and her children

dine together. Ratan Mall eats by himself. He is a member of the Pasni *panchāyat*, and other Hindus do not keep aloof from him on account of this connection.

Such connection of a Hindu with a Muhammadan woman is not recognised as lawful either by the custom of one or the other. The offspring take the faith of the mother and though looked down upon by the local Muhammadans, they have no difficulty in making the matrimonial alliances with them.

52. In pre-British days girls were usually married between 12 and 18 years, their husbands being older by 2 to 5 years. Unfortunately there is now a growing tendency towards earlier marriages—more especially in the case of the girls. This change is being brought about by two main causes : *first* and foremost is the orthodox spirit which the local Brahmans are now imbibing from India and trying to infuse among their followers, and *secondly* the comparative freedom which people of all classes—females not excepted—now enjoy under the British rule and the consequent anxiety of parents to transfer their girls in marriage before they reach the age of puberty when they can indulge in fancies of their own, and so bring possible social ruin upon their family. To these causes may be added an absolute lack of education, which naturally results in a failure to engender better feelings in the parents. But even with this change so-called *infant marriage* is still unknown.

53. They have elaborate wedding ceremonies, but the form¹ of marriage in general use seems to be the one known in the Punjāb as *pun sat*, *i.e.*, the free gift of a girl in marriage to a suitable man.

¹ Manu mentions eight forms of marriage of which the last two are not recognised, *i.e.*, the *brahma*, the *daiva*, the *arsha*, the *praja patya* the *ashra*, the *ghandarva*, the *racshasa* and the *paisach* (II, 27-34).

54. Though the custom of taking bride-price (locally known as the *lab or walwar*) is universal among the Musalmān tribesmen with whom they have lived for generations and is not uncommon among the Hindus of Dērājāt, the majority have not yet soiled their hands with it. Instances where poor men have secretly, but not openly, received a consideration in cash or kind for their girls given in marriage—in some cases to men of advanced age—have occurred in Bārkhān and in Lahṛī; but they have been few, and the parents have been looked down upon by their kinsmen. In Duki, however, where the tribesmen are entirely Paṭhāns among whom it is an article of their code of honour to take *walwar* for their girls the amount depending on her age, and personal attractions and the position of her family, the custom of taking price for brides has become common among the Hindus also. The price used to be about Rs. 400, but has now gone up to about Rs. 2,000. Nevertheless in the greater part of the country, the taking of bride-price is considered a grave infringement of social practices (§29) and the delinquent if found out is adequately punished. The injunction of the Shāstras¹ on this point is: "Let no father who knows the law, receive a gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage; since the man who through avarice, takes a gratuity for that purpose is seller of his offspring." Our Hindus may be ignorant of the letter of the law, but most of them are obedient to its spirit.

55. The exchange of girls in marriage (known locally as *maltanr, badlī, kaṇḍ waṭī* or *āmnā sāmna*) is rare; and here again the Hindus of Duki are the transgressors. It is common enough in the Punjāb.

56. They rely on the Brahmans to fix the day for marriage, but the months of Time and season for marriage. *Poh, Katak* and *Chēt* are generally avoided; and Thursdays

¹ Manu, Chapter III, 51.

and Saturdays are considered specially inauspicious. The most auspicious days are the *ganēsh chauth* in the month of *Māngh*, *Dusahra*, and *Janam Ashtamī*. The Lohānās of Las Bēla prefer the last ten days of the month of Sānwān.

57. It is the business of the parents of the lad to look for a suitable bride for him when they think that the time has come. The father or mother looks out for a girl, and makes overtures to her parents, and if they have been well-received, the father fixes an auspicious day in consultation with a Brahman, and on the appointed day sends the Brahman to obtain the formal consent of her parents or guardians. The messenger is well received, the parents of the girl assemble their kinsfolk, and in their presence present him with some sweets and a cocoanut (called *shagun*). On his return, the lad's parents assemble their kinsfolk, and the Brahman presents the lad with the *shagun* he has brought from the girl's parents. The assembly offer congratulations (*wadhāi*), and the betrothal is announced. Sweets are distributed and small presents are made to the Brahman and the family *guru*; well-to-do people give their kinsfolk a feast. In Bārkhān after the father or guardian of the girl has received several offers for her hand, he collects his near relatives, and discusses with them the merits of the various youths. When the choice is made, the family Brahman is called in, some dried fruit, sweets, and a cocoanut are placed in a plate (*shagun*) and the Brahman is directed to take the *shagun* to the lad. On the arrival of the Brahman, the lad's father collects his kinsfolk, the Brahman presents the *shagun*, the sweets and the fruit are distributed among those present, and the cocoanut is carefully preserved. It is tied in a red cloth and hung round the young man's arm or neck during the marriage ceremonies.

The binding portion of the betrothal is the presentation of the *shagun* by the girl's parents to the lad.

In Las Bēla the ceremony is more elaborate. The ladies of the boy's family approach the girl's family

and obtain their consent. In consultation with the Brahman an auspicious day is fixed, such as the day of the full moon or *sankrānt* (the first day of a Hindu month), and the relations and friends are invited, and the betrothal announced. The whole party then go to the girl's house, accompanied by a Brahman, taking with them *shakar* (red sugar), sweetmeats and wine. The girl's parents who have been previously warned have already invited their relatives. The Brahman (known in such transactions as a *sehrū* or intermediary) addresses the girl's father thus: 'Promise in the name of *Ganesha*¹ to make a gift of your daughter to so and so (naming the lad and his father) and give *wadhāi* (congratulations).' The girl's father then gives his consent. The Brahman offers his congratulations to the father of the lad, wine is served and sweets distributed. Then they all return to the lad's house. Here again the Brahman and the *panch* offer congratulations; $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of sugar and Rs. 2 are given to the Brahman by the parents of the lad as his fees and the lad's kinswomen present him with some cash. The night is spent in drinking, singing and beating drums. A couple of days after the betrothal, the lad's parents and near relations take him to the girl's house, where he is presented with 7 betel-nuts and one *jafal*, 25 *laung* (cloves) and 12 *ilāchi* (cinnamon). This, the last betrothal ceremony, is known as the *mōro*.

58. Among the Punjābī Arōṛas in the east, when the lad's parents think that the marriage should be celebrated, they approach the girl's family, obtain their consent, and call in their family Brahman, who consults the birthdays of the lad and the girl and the planets under which they were born, and then fixes an auspicious day for the marriage. The bride's (*kunwār*) father brings sweets and fruit in a

¹ *Ganesh* is the most popular of the Purāṇic Gods, and his worship forms an essential part of several domestic ceremonies—Hinduism, Ancient and Modern, page 165.

cloth, which are first tied round the bridegroom's (*ghōḷ*) neck and then distributed among those present. When the day has thus been fixed, the ceremonies begin in each family. If the bride live in another village, the groom's party goes there a week before the wedding and the bride's family arrange accommodation for them.

Both the parties then go to the Brahman, who consults his *patri* (a treatise on astrology) and fixes the hour at which the marriage ceremony is to be performed. This is called *lagan*. The Brahman then draws on two pieces of paper, with turmeric paste, the image of *Ganēsh* and a time table (*kāj gantra*) for various ceremonies and hands over the table to both parties, and receives a small fee which varies from two annas to one rupee.

59. On the first day, the family godling (*dēv*) is installed. Three clods of earth are brought and placed in the form of a triangle on the *chaukā* (a place in the house which has been smeared with cow-dung). An earthen pot (*ḍōḷī*) filled with water, a hand mill (*chakki*), mortar (*ukhli*), a pestle (*mohla*), a winnowing fan (*chhaj*) and an earthen vessel in which grain is stored are brought. The *chakki* and *ukhli* and the *mohla* are washed, the *kalkhōṭī* is covered with a piece of red and a piece of white cotton cloth each $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards long; a cocoanut is placed over the *ḍōḷī*, with a sword near it, an earthen lamp is lit and placed on the *chaukā* facing the east. These articles placed in their allotted positions are collectively known as the installation of the family god.

In Bārkhān, however, the godling is installed differently: the sacrificial fire *hawan* is made and in it are put barley, sesame and ghi. The Brahman draws the diagram of *nao grah*. An iron peg is driven in the ground and to it is tied a string hung with a clove, a betelnut, and an almond. One and a half seers of wheaten flour are put in a sheep-

skin; the mouth of the skin is closed, and it is placed in an earthen vessel.

60. The Brahman then prepares 13 *gānas* or cords. The *gāna* is made of cotton threads of four colours—white, red, green and yellow knotted together. To it are tied an iron ring, some seeds of *sarshaf* (mustard) wrapped in a piece of cotton or woollen cloth and a shell (*kaudī*). The Brahman performs the *ganēsh pūjā* and ties a *gāna* to the wrist of (1) the *ghōṭ*, (2) his mother, (3) his father, (or if the *ghōṭ*'s father be dead to his guardian), (4) his brother-in-law, who from this time onward acts as the *ghōṭ*'s *ānar* or body-guard, (5) the *bhandāri* (a man told off to distribute food to guests and others), (6) the *koṭhīdār* (storekeeper) and also to (7) the sword, (8) the *dōli*, (9) the *chakki*, (10) the *ukhlī*, (11) the *mohla*, (12) the *chhaj*, and (13) the *kalhōṭī*. This ceremony of tying the *gāna* or marriage cord is known as the *nao-grahī*. Sheep are killed and kinsmen are feasted.

All these articles, by the by, are useful in a household, and the pestle and mortar are mentioned² by Manu as sacred objects in the performance of daily ablutions to divinities.

61. In the afternoon, the *bhandāri* takes a bit from every kind of food that has been cooked, offers a little to *agni* (fire), throws a little in running water, fills a glass with water, and sprinkles the water over the stores. This is repeated every morning during the marriage ceremonies, and is known as *bhandāra thāpnā*. Brahmans and Sādhūs are first fed, and then other relatives and friends. The food on this day consists of *halwa*, *dāl*, rice and bread.

62. The women of the village then assemble, the image of *ganēsh* is drawn with *atta* on a handmill and over it is placed a four-wick lamp. The Brahman performs the usual *pūjā*. Seven *suhāgans* (married women whose husbands are

² Manu III, pp. 87—88.

living—remarried widows cannot of course take part), and the *ghōṭ* put some wheat in the mortar and pound it with a pestle, and the pounded wheat is cleaned with the *chhaj*. Some of the crushed grain is put in the handmill, and the seven *suhāgans* and the *ghōṭ* turn the handle three times. Of the flour thus ground, the *ghōṭ* puts three handfuls (*munḡal*) in the *kalhōṭi*, gives three handfuls to the Brahman and as much to the drummer. The Brahman is paid one or two annas as his fee. This grinding of corn in the handmill is called *chakki chung waddi*. The women then go to the temple of Dēvi, fill and bring home a *lōṭā* of water.

63. In the morning the kinsfolk of the *ghōṭ* assemble at the *chaukū*, 15 or 20 small cakes (*ṭikrē*), cooked in *ghī*, are brought; the Brahman performs the *pūjā* of the *nao gruh* and the *ganēsh*, and gets as his fee 2 annas or $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas. This is called *jandrōṛi*. In the afternoon is performed the ceremony of *nikī* (lesser) *chung*, which is similar to the *chakki chung waddi* (great).

64. In the first part of the night, rice, *dāl*, bread and *halwa* are prepared. The Brahman comes and performs the *ganēsh pūjā*; decks a new turban with saffron paste, ties the turban over the *ghōṭ's* head and gets 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ rupees as his fee. The cooked food is distributed to the whole village, including the Musalmāns and any strangers that happen to be in the village, and two plates of food are sent to the bride's family. The distribution of this cooked food is called *junj*.

65. In the morning, the women of the *ghōṭ's* family prepare a bag (*guthli*) of red cloth and put in it the *phal* (fruit) presented to the groom on the day of the betrothal (§ 57). The groom hangs this round his neck. He then sits on an *āsan* (prayer mat or carpet), takes in his hand a *gāṭi* (piece of coloured wood), and a *samarni* (rosary), and is supposed to be in a prayerful mood, his *ānar* sitting by him.

The *ghōṭ*, his father and his mother, keep a fast this day. Among some of the followers of the goddess Bhairōn a goat is killed in the evening, and its heart roasted in *ghī*; but among others *waryān* (a preparation of *dāl*) does instead. The Brahman comes in the evening, performs the *ganēsh pūjā*, and then some of the roasted meat or *waryān* and scented oil are sprinkled on the ground as an offering to the goddess Bhairōn. With the rest of the roasted meat or *waryān* the *ghōṭ* and his parents break their fast.

In Bārkhān, two cakes of *atta* in which sweet oil has been mixed are baked and a third cake is made of mud; all the three cakes are strung on a cotton rope made of three threads knotted together and hung to the ceiling of the room in which the *deo pūjā* is daily performed. These cakes are not removed until they fall to pieces. Small cakes (*tikrē*) cooked in *ghī*, are distributed, and two cakes are given to the *ghōṭ*, the *kunwār* and their party, to break their fast.

66. Seven *suhāgans* then anoint the *ghōṭ*, his father, his mother and the *ānar* with oil, the residue of the oil being sent to

The marriage crown. the bride. The women then go on a stream, perform *pūjā* with the assistance of the Brahman, fill a *lōṭā* with water and bring it home. The Brahman then performs the *ganēsh pūjā* and puts a *muṭṭak*¹ (marriage crown) on the *ghōṭ*'s head.

67. The marriage procession (*janj*) then starts for the house of the bride, the bridegroom leading with the end of his *chādar* (cotton sheet) tied to the *chādar* of his sister (*pālō palli*). They first go to a *bēr* tree, where their *chādars* are undone. A *gāna* or cord is tied round the tree and the *ghōṭ* perambulates it three times, and at the end of the third turn cuts off the *gāna* with his sword. He then washes his hands and face and mounts a mare, which is provided for him, and the procession proceeds to the *kunwār*'s house.

¹ This *muṭṭak* is made by wealthy families of silver; but ordinarily it is made of paper.

68. Here the *ghōṭ* dismounts, cuts off with a knife a string (*naoṛi*) which has been tied to the door post, and throws the *naoṛi* on the top of the house. In Bārkhān the *naoṛi* is cut by the *ānar* and not by the groom. The marriage party then enter the bride's house, and are given milk to drink mixed with sugarcandy and cloves.

69. Henceforward all ceremonies are performed in the bride's house; but previous to Ceremonies for the bride, this, most of the ceremonies performed for the *ghōṭ* have also been performed for the *kunwār* in her own house, with the exception that the *kunwār* has no *ānar*, nor does she carry a sword, nor is there a *junj* (§64) on the second day, nor has she a *guthli* (§65). She is bathed and rubbed with *batna* (a paste made of *atta*, *ghī* and turmeric); the oil sent by the *ghōṭ*'s family is applied to her hair by seven *suhāgans*; and the fast is broken with *waryān* and not with roasted meat. On the occasion of the *nao grah* ceremony the kinswomen of the *kunwār* tie a string of cotton to her hair, the married women try to break it, and the maidens try to prevent them. After some struggles the former succeed in cutting the string with a knife. This ceremony is the counterpart of *naoṛi wadhna* (§ 68) performed for the bridegroom. The *kunwār*'s family distribute *halwa* among their kinsmen.

70. On entering the *kunwār*'s house, the *ghōṭ* takes his seat, and the *kunwār*'s family give him some milk in which cloves are steeped, an antimony pouch (*surmadāni*), a stick for applying antimony (*surmachū*), a cap and a ring. He drinks a little of this milk, takes a clove and applies antimony to his eyes, and what he leaves over is similarly used by other members of the party. The Brahman recites some sacred verses and removes the *muttak* from the *ghōṭ*'s head. In Bārkhān, he is handed by the bride's father, a salver containing a cocoanut, some dry fruit and a *daka* (a coloured piece of wood about 1½ feet long), round which is wrapped a green silk thread. The Brahman takes off the thread, recites some *mantras*,

measures the *ghōṭ* three times from head to feet, and then takes off his *muṭṭak*. This ceremony is called *pach kara*.

71. The *ghōṭ* and the *kunwār* bathe and put on new clothes, the *kunwār* wearing the clothes and ornaments brought for her by the *ghōṭ*, and the ivory bracelets (*chūrā*) provided by the *kunwār's* mother's family, (*nānkē*). They are then conducted to a *vēdi* or marriage booth, and seated on reed baskets (*khārās*). Some dough is put in the *kunwār's* right hand, the *ghōṭ* puts his right hand over it, and the Brahman recites some *mantras* and ties their hands together with a coloured cotton thread; then the ends of their *chādars* (*palo-pali*) are knotted together. This is called *hath lēva*.

The Brahman draws the *nao grah* diagram, lights the sacrificial fire, performs *pūjā* and begins the marriage service. Only the *ghōṭ*, the *kunwār*, their parents and the *ānar* are present. The *ghōṭ* and the *kunwār* walk round (*phērā*) the fire three times, the *ghōṭ* leading in the first two rounds and the *kunwār* in the third. Their hands are then separated and they resume their seats, changing places. The parents of the bride then make a formal gift of her (*kanyādān*) to the bridegroom, by putting in his hand water over which the Brahman has read some *mantras*. A he-goat is waved over the heads of the married couple and then let loose. The binding parts of the marriage ceremony are the *hath-lēva*, the *phērā* and the *kanyādān*.

72. In well-to-do families the *janj* is given a feast by the bride's family the following morning. In the afternoon, the bride's parents present the bride with a dowry (*sējā* or *dāj*), the quantity and quality of which depend on their means. In a family of ordinary means, it consists of the following articles :--

Shirt, trousers, wrapper.

Hasli (necklace).

Nath (gold nose-ring).

Ghārgi (some silver coins strung together) for the neck.

Rings.

A complete set of bedding.

A carpet.

Khurjīn (saddle bags).

Chhāvri (a woollen cloth for keeping the baked bread).

Iron tripod, griddle, metal cup, plate, *dēg* and a large spoon.

Each of the bride's near relatives add to the *sējā* a wrapper (*tikri*) worth about Rs. 1-4-0. The bride's parents present the *ghōṭ* with a complete suit of clothes, a *lungi* and a pair of gold ear-rings (*kundāl*).

They also present a shirt and a wrapper to his mother, a turban, a coat and a pair of trousers to his father, and a *lungi* to his *ānar*.

73. The *ghōṭ*'s relatives give presents in cash (*nēdrā*, *mana mōkh* or *mūra*) and are given a *lungi* each in return.

Marriage donations. This *mana mōkh* is treated as a debt of honour to be repaid when a marriage takes place in the donor's family; and accounts are strictly kept accordingly.

74. The bride mounts a mare behind her husband and is brought to her new home. On Bringing home the bride. arrival she is made to put her feet in a vessel containing water in which gold has been dipped or to sprinkle milk in which water is mixed, to signify that her admission into the family will bring prosperity to them. In Bhāg, the bride makes a show of refusing to enter the house until her father promises her some ornament. After they have entered the house, the husband and wife take three handfuls of salt, which are given to a *bhathī-āri* (baker women) or a *mirāsan* (minstrel's wife). On the following morning, the Brahman is called, and performs the *pūjā*. He removes the *dēv* (§ 59) and puts it in some water, and also removes the *gānās* or marriage cords

(§ 60) from the bridal couple. Unless the parties are immature, consummation takes place the same night.

75. The next day the bride returns to her parents, who send sweet cakes to the *ghōṭ's* family. The *ghōṭ's* family feed their kinsfolk on meat and rice; but in some places cakes made of the *atta* which was put in the *kālhōṭi* on the *chakkē chung* day (§ 62), with more *atta* added to it if necessary, are distributed instead. This is called *satwāra* and is the last of the marriage ceremonies.

76. The Sindhi Hindus have still more elaborate ceremonies, as may be seen from the following account of the customs prevalent among the Hindus of Nasirābād, which applies with slight local modifications to other parts also.

77. After the betrothal and until the day of the marriage the bridegroom's family make no presents to the bride. On the other hand the bride's family send them presents on the following occasions :—

- i. On the *devāli* festival, $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of sweets.
- ii. On the *dusahara* festival if there be a *jhand* (§ 46) ceremony in the bride's family and if both the families be living at one place but not otherwise :—
 - A cap.
 - A *bōchhan* (wrapper).
 - Cooked food.
- iii. On the *hālī* festival some sweets (*rēvarī*) and a bottle of wine by the hand of a *niāna* (daughter's son) or *jātrā* (daughter's husband) or some other relative.

Some of the near kinsmen of the bridegroom take to the bride a *jhamri* (silk wrapper) and *gulāl* (*atta* coloured red,)

and put the wrapper on the bride and sprinkle *gulāl* over it and return home.

78. When the bridegroom's parents are ready to celebrate the marriage, they send a Brahman or a relative to the girl's parents. The messenger goes to a place of worship and sends word to the parents of the girl, who depute two leading men or relatives of the bride's party, and if after a consultation they are all agreed, the family Brahman is called in to fix an auspicious day and time for the marriage.

79. Then the bridegroom's father sends a verbal invitation (*kāndō*) to his friends and relatives, to each of whom a clove is delivered. The guests come two days before the wedding day and are fed by the bridegroom's family. *Sēsa* (boiled gram, etc.) and *tāhiri* (sweet rice) are cooked and distributed in the village.

80. The officiating priest draws the figure of *ganēśh* on a handmill, and the bridegroom worships it; whereupon the *ghōṭ* and seven *suhāgans* put seven handfuls of wheat in the handmill and grind. This is called *bukki*, and is done in the bride's family also.

81. After *bukki*, the Brahman draws the *nao grah* diagram with *atta*, performs *pūjā* with eight kinds of grain and other necessities, places cocoanuts, dates, rice and *gur*, etc., on the diagram, and then ties a *gāna* (§ 60) to the right wrist and left foot of the *ghōṭ*, to the door of the house, to the *chhaj* or winnowing basket, to a mortar, pestle, sieve, handmill, to the sword held by the *ānar* or bestman and to the knife which is placed in *ghōṭ*'s hands. The *ghōṭ* is also given a rosary (*samarni*) with 28 iron beads. He keeps telling the beads, praying for the successful performance of the ceremonies and for the happiness of his wedded life.

82. After the *gāna*, he is seated on an earthen plate
(*pātri*) and bathed by a barber.
Tēl.

He puts on a new turban, keeps his old shirt and *dhōti*, but ties round his waist a *ḍori* (a coarse cotton sheet, coloured red), to which is hung a cloth bag containing a sweet cake, *gur* or a cocoanut. Two earthen pots, a mortar, some grain, and a lamp of shell (which is filled with *ghī*) are placed near the house post. Oil is brought in a metal cup; a virgin girl applies the oil to the *ghōṭ*'s temples, and the Brahman does the same. The remainder of the oil is sent to the bride's house, where it is applied to her in the same manner. The groom's father pays Rs. 11-4-0 to the *pañchāyat* as their fees.

83. In the morning the *ghōṭ*'s father invites the males of
the whole village and feeds them
Junj and *dhāmōn*.
on *tāhiri* (rice cooked in *gur* or sugar) or rice and *nukti* (sweet). This is called *junj*. Then the *dhāmōn* (cooked food) is distributed, each *dhāmōn* containing $7\frac{1}{2}$ *pāo* of *tāhiri* or rice and *nukti*. Each widow and widower, each man who has been betrothed, and each married couple, gets a *dhāmōn*, which is also given to leading Muhammadans of the village and even to potters, barbers, grain parchers, and other artisans.

84. In the afternoon, the kinsmen assemble, and with
their permission the Brahman
Dikh palāo.
places the *muṭṭak* or marriage crown on the *ghōṭ*'s head. The *muṭṭak* is prepared by the Brahman, and one ready-made can be purchased for Rs. 1-4-0 to 5. Some well-to-do people use a *muṭṭak* made of silver costing from Rs. 25 to 50. Rice is then cooked and 2½ *chittāks* sent to each family. This is *dikh palāo*.

85. Then the *janj* or marriage procession starts for the
bride's house, consisting of those
The *janj* or marriage
procession. men to whom the invitation
(*kāndo*, §79) has been sent. The
ghōṭ rides a mare or a camel, or perhaps he drives in a bullock

cart, in which case his best man (*ānar*) or a little boy sits by him. The *ghōṭ*'s family have to provide means of conveyance for such of the guests who bring none of their own, and if the distance is so long that a halt has to be made, they have to provide refreshments also. On their arrival near the bride's house the *janj* are met by the members of the *pañchāyat* and relations of the bride, and conducted to the quarters previously arranged for their stay. When all have been seated, *bhugra* (parched gram) and syrup are served to them.

86. The *ghōṭ* accompanied by the *ānar* is then conducted to the bride's house. Here in the courtyard a *manha* or marriage booth has been erected, and a *munj* rope tied to one of the rafters. The *ānar* cuts the rope asunder with his sword, throws it on to the top of the house, and he and the *ghōṭ* return to their quarters.

87. When the *ghōṭ* again reaches the bride's house some of her relations take the *muṭṭak* off his head and tear it (if made of paper) to pieces.

88. The bride is then brought to the door; standing inside, she places her right foot outside the door and the *ghōṭ* places his right foot over it. This is *pērā kajani* or measuring the feet.

89. Then the *ghōṭ* is conducted to the inner chamber, where the bride lies on a bedstead (*khattī*) covered with a cloth. The *ghōṭ* holds a pair of small scales (*kandā*) in his hands, stands across the bride, with one foot on each side of the bed, thrice weighs some cloves in the scales and hands them over to the bride's younger sister. Each time the *ghōṭ* hands the cloves she repeats the words "*gul phul chun O nauri*" which means "Pick out flowers, O bride." After weighing the cloves three times, the *ghōṭ* leaves the *kunwār*'s bed.

90. The *ghōṭ* and *kunwār* then bathe, and come to the marriage booth. Here a mat (*parchh*) is spread ; over it are placed two plates upside down, covered with a *sawar* (quilt). The *ghōṭ* and *kunwār* sit on these plates, facing the east, the *kunwār* sitting on the right of the *ghōṭ*. The Brahman ties the ends of their wrappers together. This is called *palō palli*. And he draws the usual *nao grah* diagram, lights the sacrificial fire and performs *pūjā*. Then a ball of dough with a two-anna piece inserted in it, is placed on the *ghōṭ*'s right hand ; the *kunwār*'s right hand is placed over his, and their hands are tied together (*hathmēl*) with a red cotton thread. The *ghōṭ* and the *kunwār* then walk round (*phērā*) the diagram thrice¹, the *ghōṭ* leading, while the Brahman chants some Sanskrit verses. When the Brahman has read half of the ritual, the bride's *panchāyat* stop him, and demand from the *ghōṭ*'s father their fee which is Rs. 107, the amount being raised to 170 in cases of rich traders. The *ghōṭ*'s father either pays the amount on the spot or gives a security, and the ceremony is allowed to proceed. This money is distributed by the bride's parents among Brahmans, *fakīrs*, and poor people who assemble on the occasion. They then make a formal gift (*kanyādān*) of the bride to the bridegroom. Their hands are now untied, and the Brahman takes the two-anna piece, and the bridal couple sit down, the groom on the right of his bride. The *ānar* brings a he-goat, lifts it up, shuts its mouth with his hands, and waves it three times over the heads of the couple, and gives it finally to a *gāgra* (sweeper).

91. The Brahman then knocks the heads of the couple together (*sirmēl*) thrice and reads some Sanskrit verses.

92. Then the couple are taken to the inner chamber. Small cakes of *atta* mixed with ghi (*tikiya*) stand ready. The Brahman bids the *ghōṭ* to eat of

¹ In Quetta four times, the *ghōṭ* leading in the first three and the *kunwār* in the fourth *phērā*.

these cakes, but the moment he puts one to his mouth, the Brahman shouts "Beware, never eat the wife's leavings (*jhuḥā*)."
Where at the *ghōṭ* is abashed.

93. It may be noted that from the time the *muṭṭak* is put on and until the *lāvān phērās* have been performed, the *ghōṭ* and the *kunwār* have to fast.

94. After breaking the bread, the bride is mounted on a mare or a camel or is driven in a cart and brought home. If the couple are of mature age, the consummation takes place that night. The bride wears anklets (called *nōrā*) to which bells are attached, and the women of the family keep watch outside, and rejoice when they learn from the ringing of the bells that consummation has taken place.

95. Before the bride leaves for her new home, her parents present her with a dowry (*dāj*) the quantity and quality of which varies with their means. Ordinarily it comprises five pairs of trousers, shirts and wrappers, one large plate, one small plate, one metal cup, one antimony pouch and stick, one iron griddle, one iron tripod, ten ear-rings, one nose-ring and, in addition, they present the *ghōṭ* with a pair of ear-rings (*kundal*), a ring, a loin cloth and a shirt. Wealthy families also present a milch cow.

96. The *kunwār's* family like that of the *ghōṭ's* have a *junj* and *dhāmōn* (§83). When the *satwāra*, *janj*—the marriage procession—reaches the bride's house, the first evening's meal is supplied by the *ghōṭ's* family. Next morning the *kunwār's* family have the *junj* and *dhāmōn* both for the marriage party and for the village. The evening meal which the *kunwār's* family gives is called the *satwāra*.

97. When the marriage procession returns home, the guests before taking leave make donations (*mana mōkh*) to the

ghōṭ's family. This consists of cash varying from Rs. 0-4-0 to 1-0-0 and two *dūngīs* (half cocoanuts) or 9 pies in lieu.

As among the Panjābis, the binding parts of the ceremony are the *hath mēl* (joining the hands), the *phērā* (taking rounds) and the *kanyādān* (the free gift), the addition being the *sir mēl* or knocking the heads together.

98. The Bēlārō Hindus of Las Bēla follow the ceremonies of Sindhi Hindus (§76-97) with some modifications.

When the marriage day has been fixed and supplies collected for the marriage feast, the *ghōṭ*'s father with some members of the *pañchāyat* and a Brahman go to the *kunwār*'s house. Then the Brahman places in the bride's hand a plate covered with a cocoanut and sugarcandy, and the *kunwār*'s family Brahman gives a similar plate to the *ghōṭ*, and congratulations are exchanged. This is called *khir*.

On the second day both families distribute cooked rice to their kinsfolk.

On the third day a carpenter (*wāḍhā*) goes to the houses of the *ghōṭ* and the *kunwār*, and both parties order him to bring a beam (*thūni*) of tamarisk. He cuts a beam, strips the bark off, and delivers it to the family, who pay him his fee consisting of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *tōpās* of rice, some red sugar and tobacco. The womenfolk call the Brahman, apply to this *thūni* a mixture of turmeric and crude potash, tie to it seven small pieces of cloth, and sing songs. The *thūni* is then inserted in front of the house in a hole, in which is first put some rice over which the Brahman has recited some Sanskrit texts. The *kunwār* and the *ghōṭ* and his (or her) mother sit near this *thūni* on wooden plates, surrounded by their relatives, and place by it two mortars, seven pestles, a hand mill and *sughra* (a piece of cloth over which the hand mill rests). The Brahman performs the *nao grah pūjā* and ties a red thread *kangān* to the right hand of the *ghōṭ* (or the *kunwār*). A body guard or best man (*ānar*) is appointed for the *ghōṭ*,

generally the husband of the *ghōṭ*'s sister. The *ghōṭ* and the *kunwār* and his or her mother embrace each other, and take three sips from a cup of milk mixed with sesame.

On the 4th day the *dēv* is installed by both the families. Five *chittāks* of flour, a *dātun* (tooth brush), a four cornered lamp made of dough and lighted with *ghī*, are placed in a plate and covered with a copper sieve. The mother of the *ghōṭ* (or of the *kunwār*) takes this plate to the house of a potter and gives him the contents; the potter gives her in return some small earthen pots (*kuprīs*), which she brings home, and places by the *thūni*. They are broken by the *ghōṭ* (or the *kunwār*) with his (or her) feet. On the morning of the 5th day, the *ghōṭ* and the *kunwār* are anointed with oil, and the relatives make small presents of money (*ghōr*) to the Brahman. In the evening, an interesting ceremony is performed called *gharī khaṇan* (carrying an earthen pot). An earthen pot (*gharī*), with a lid, is obtained from the potters, the Brahman draws on it the figure of *Ganēsh*, puts in it rice, sweets, a pice and a lighted lamp, covers it with a piece of red cloth, and places a cocoanut on top. The kinsfolk then assemble, eat, drink and make merry. At midnight the *ghōṭ*'s (or the *kunwār*'s) mother lifts the *gharī* on her head, and accompanied by the kinsfolk, and escorted in case of the *ghōṭ*'s party by the *ānar* with a naked sword in his hand emerges from her house. They go about the village beating drums and singing songs, and finally reach a well where both parties meet, if they live in the same village. The Brahman empties the contents of the *gharī* into the well, fills it with water, places it on the *ghōṭ*'s (or the *kunwār*'s) mother's head, the procession returns home, and the *gharī* is placed by the *thūni*. On the morning of the sixth day, the Brahman performs the *nao grah pūjā*; the *ghōṭ* (or the *kunwār*) is bathed; a cotton sheet filled with ornaments taken from seven married women, and a sword is held over his (or her) head, and the water from the earthen pot is poured into the sheet and through it over the *ghōṭ*'s (or *kunwār*'s) head. About mid-day the *ghōṭ*'s head is shaved; he is bathed and

anointed by his relatives with henna on hands and feet. Then the Brahman puts the marriage crown (*dikā* or *mutṭak*) on the *ghōṭ*'s head. And a mare is brought from the State stables, on payment of a fixed fee of Rs. 12-8. The *ghōṭ* places some rice and a pice under the mare's fore-hoofs, mounts her, the *ānar* sitting behind him, and the marriage procession (*mahjar*) starts for the *kunwār*'s house. Here the *ānar* cuts the *naori* (§ 86). The *ghōṭ* dismounts, enters the house, and sits on a mattress which has been spread for him; his sister-in-law brings some butter, puts it in his mouth, and plaits his scalp tuft (*chōṭi*) with red cotton thread (*mauli*). The *kunwār*'s Brahman brings a cocoanut and some sugar-candy, and puts them in the *ghōṭ*'s cotton sheet (*dopatta*). This ceremony is called *mōrū*. The *ghōṭ* again mounts, and accompanied by the marriage procession goes a little distance and returns to the *kunwār*'s house. This is called *sargas*. The *kunwār*'s mother comes out of the door, and asks the *ghōṭ* to dismount and stand with his right foot on the lower part, and his right hand on the upper part of the door frame. She then measures the *ghōṭ* with a cotton string, places this string in a small wooden box (*saugi*), wraps the box in a piece of cloth, and strikes the left and right shoulders of the *ghōṭ* with it slowly three times. This is called *dānwar*, and is apparently meant to test whether the *ghōṭ* is sound in body. He then takes out the string, puts it round his mother-in-law's neck, and goes to the marriage booth. One of his sisters-in-law or some other female of the bride's family undoes the hair of his tuft and gets one rupee. He then takes off his clothes, rubs his body with fuller's earth and oil, bathes and puts on a new suit of clothes (silk or cotton) consisting of a loin cloth or trousers, a turban or a cap, open coat (*pairāhan*) and a wrapper presented to him by the *kunwār*'s family. Meanwhile the *kunwār* also bathes and puts on a silk shirt, chintz wrapper and silk trousers (*ghaghrā*).

The marriage ceremony is performed in a place especially prepared for the purpose, called like the rite itself, *bēdi*. The ground is smeared with cow dung, and the Brahman

draws *nao grah* in the form of a square ; on each corner of the square he places an empty earthen pot, and by the side of the diagram a wooden bench. The *ghōṭ* sits on this bench ; with him come his nearest relatives, but most of the members of the *mahjar* stay away and amuse themselves. The *kunwār* is brought and seated on the right of the *ghōṭ*, and a red wrapper is placed over them. The Brahman ties the ends of their wrappers together (*palō-pallī*), puts a ball of dough on the right palm of the *kunwār*, places the right hand of the *ghōṭ* over it, and ties their hands with *mauli*. The parents of the couples sit by them. The Brahman then repeats some verses in Sanskrit, throwing rice over the couple all the time. This is called *hathālū* (joining hands).

The bride's Brahman then performs the *Ganēsh pūjā*, drawing the necessary diagram and putting rice and saffron paste over it. He then reads some *mantras*, which finishes the *bēdi* ceremony. A *lōṭā* filled with water representing the god Mahādēv is placed in the *bēdi*, and the Brahman puts a saffron spot (*tilak*) on it, and recites sacred verses, while the parents of the couple put some rice and pice in the *lōṭā*. This is *mahādēv's pūjā* or worship.

Then the Brahman performs *jat*, by placing some rice on a fan, reciting *mantras* and throwing the rice over the couple. Sacrificial fire is lit, and ghi and sesame put in it, and sacred texts recited. The couple are then conducted by the *kunwār's* brother once round the *bēdi*, then by her maternal uncle, then by her paternal uncle, while the fourth round is entrusted to her father. During these circumambulations the Brahman recites sacred texts. After the fourth round the couple sit down, the *kunwār* being now placed on the left. This ends the *phērā* ceremony.

The *kanyādān*.—The mother of the *kunwār* brings a plate, a *lōṭā* filled with milk, and some sesame seed. The Brahman puts water and sesame in the hands of the *kunwār's* parents, and the mother puts forward her hand, and the father places

his hand over hers, while the Brahman repeating sacred verses asks them to wash the *ghōṭ*'s feet and put a saffron spot (*tilak*) on his forehead. This done, the Brahman places the *kunwār*'s hand in the *ghōṭ*'s hand, to signify that the parents of the bride have of their own free will made a gift (*kanyādān*) of her to the bridegroom.

The Brahman then unties their hands, places a silk cloth in front of them, and behind this cloth they look at each other's faces for the first time. This is *lānṇān*. He then removes the cloth, gently knocking their heads (*mathō mēli*) together three times.

Here ends the marriage ceremony. Friends and relations offer congratulations, wave some money over the heads of the couple, and give it to the Brahman, who offers his benediction (*asīrbād*) and departs. The whole of the *bēdi* is performed during the night, and on its completion the married couple leave the *bēdi* and go together to the inner apartments.

In the morning the *pañchāyat* assembles in the bride's house, and her father gives her leave to depart. The procession then starts for the bridegroom's house. The bridegroom leads the way, followed by the bride and the musicians beating drums. The couple are not admitted into the house at once. The bridegroom's mother brings a plate covered with rice, a lighted lamp, betel nut, dates, red cotton thread, a small wooden box (*dabla*), a churner (*mundhari*). She also brings a *pātri* (wooden plate) which is placed outside the door, and a square wooden frame which is brought from the bride's house. The Brahman and the bridegroom's mother stand inside the door; the bride stands outside, with her right toe on the wooden plate and her right thumb on the frame, and the bridegroom's mother wraps the thread seven times round her right foot, while the Brahman recites some verses. This is called *sāt*. The bridegroom's mother then takes the thread off the bride's foot, places it round her neck and leads her inside the house followed by the bridegroom and party.

The *pañchāyat* enter the house, offer congratulations and take their leave. The newly married couple sit by the Brahman, and some sesame seed, salt and money is brought. And while the Brahman reads some *mantras*, the husband takes a handful of salt, and puts it in the hands of his wife. She puts it back in the husband's hand ; he again returns it to her and she places it in a plate. The sesame and money are similarly measured out. The husband's father, mother and sisters each measure the salt, sesame seed and rupees with the wife in the same manner. This is to signify that henceforward she is a sharer in the grain and wealth of the family. After an hour or so, the wife's parents and relations come and take her and her husband and his *āṇar* to their house for a meal. The wife remains the whole day in her parent's house.

About 10 o'clock at night after the dinner is over, the father of the wife brings a cocoa-nut, hands it over to the husband, and invites him to break it. This is emblematical of the father's permission to the consummation of marriage. The married couple then repair to the bridal chamber, and even if they are immature and co-habitation cannot take place, they must still retire to bed in obedience to the custom.

In the morning the husband goes home, but the wife remains with her parents. The husband visits the wife for the next two or three days and spends the night with her in her parents' house. Both families give cooked food to their kin according to their means.

On the 5th night the ceremony of *chhanar* is performed. The wife's parents cut a *kandī* twig, bring it home and place it by the *thūni*. The families assemble, the Brahman performs *Ganēsha pūjā*, all present throw rice over the *kandī*, and the *āṇar* strikes the *kandī* seven blows with his sword ; a thick sweet bread is broken in a plate, pieces served to all present, and the marriage cord (*kangan*) taken off the bridal couple. The guests then take leave, each making a small present of cash.

The last of the marriage ceremonies is *satāro*, which is performed within 10 or 12 days of the day of *bēdi*. At about 9 o'clock at night the husband's parents collect their *pañchāyat*, go to the bride's house and ask her parent's permission to take her home. The formal permission being granted, the bride's parents give her a dowry.

From the day of the arrival of the *mahjar* to the day of the *atāro* ceremony the bridegroom's party has had to remain in the bride's village, and make their own arrangements for their food, except for three meals which are provided by the bride's family.

After the Brahman has tied the corners of the bride's and bridegroom's *chādars*, they proceed homeward accompanied by the *pañchāyat* and musicians. On reaching home their *chādars* are untied, and the *ānar* takes his leave.

Sweet rice is distributed by the husband's family among their kinsfolk.

99. After marriage a man does not immediately set up a home of his own. He brings his wife to his mother, and under her absolute control she must remain for a time. It is her business to teach her her duties to her elders, and to put her through the household work. In the good old days it was not uncommon for three generations—father, sons and grandsons—to live together under the same roof, each bringing his earnings to the common stock and sharing the same meals, and this is the case even now among the respectable Kandahāri Hindu families, and also in localities away from the influences of civilization. Under this system the eldest female of the family, generally the dreaded mother-in-law, is the ruler.

In places like Quetta, individual spirit is breaking up the joint family system. Married men with children of their own and capable of earning their own livelihood no longer care to remain with their parents. But it is not so much

the young husband as his wife who is anxious to break off ; for young married women hanker after the great independence they see enjoyed by their sisters from various parts of India, and are eager to escape from the strict supervision of their mothers-in-law.

100. Remarriage of widows is common in the southern, central and eastern parts of the country, but is rare and even looked down upon in Kalāt, Mastung and Nushki. Even here however better sense seems to be gradually gaining ground, and no ban is placed on a widow who remarries. There have been cases of widow remarriage in Nushki, and two in Mastung lately, both in one family. In Kachhi about three-fifths of the widows remarry. The deceased husband's brother (younger or elder) has the first claim to marry the widow provided he has no wife living (except in Quetta where such a union is prohibited), but her formal consent is necessary. In fact the widow is free to choose her second husband with the advice and consent of her parents, to whom she would return if she wished to choose some other than her deceased husband's brother. A period of 5 to 12 months must generally elapse after the death of the first husband before the second marriage can take place. In most parts of the country the ceremony is simple ; the couple go at night to some source of water, where a virgin girl ties the ends of their *chādars* (*palō*) together for a small present, and the couple come home. The tying of the *palō* is the one and only binding ceremony.

In some parts of the country, however, the ceremony is a little more elaborate. In Las Bēla, the groom presents her with a suit of clothes, an auspicious day is selected, some friends are invited ; and an Atit or a *fakir* ties their *palō* together. In Bārkhān, the couple go one night, which has been fixed by a Brahman, to a stream or a well or other water ; if there is nothing better, a *khallī* of water answers the purpose. The Brahman lights a lamp, recites some Sanskrit verses and ties the ends of their *chādars*. The

woman and the man return to their respective houses. On the morrow the kinswomen assemble in the woman's house, bring a suit of clothes from the husband, put it on the woman, and conduct her to her new home. For twelve days the couple are treated as ceremonially impure, and do not break bread with others. On the thirteenth day the husband goes to the Brahman's house, where the *pañchāyat* of the place is assembled, and pays a penalty of Rs. 25 to the *pañchāyat*; fills a *hukka* which is smoked by him and the assembly, and is then re-admitted into the *birādari*. Of the Rs. 25 levied as *ḍaṇḍ* (fine) by the *pañchāyat*, Rs. 5 go to the Gosāins of Dēra Ghāzi Khān, Rs. 3 to the Brahman, and Rs. 17 are credited to the *pañchāyat* funds. On the day following the kinsfolk again assemble and are feasted, and the Brahman performs a shorter form of marriage service. But even in such cases, the binding part of the ceremony is the *palō*—the tying together of the *chādars*. In Duki they have the same ceremonial as in Bārkhān, except that the couple remain in a secluded hut for seven days, and the Brahman performs the service on the eighth day.

In Dēra Bugṭi and Kahān, the *pañchāyats* levy a larger fee on the remarriage of a widow, a portion of it being paid to the keepers of the Lālji Mandir in Dēra Ghāzi Khān; in Las Bēla on the other hand the fee is half the usual amount. The fee is in every case paid by the husband.

Is this universal custom of widow remarriage in Baluchistān, one may ask, due to the ignorance of the teachings of the *Shāstras* on the part of both the Hindus themselves and their priests, or is it due to the influence of their Musalmān environment? Whether born of ignorance or environment, it is indeed a blessing even though it may have led here and there to increased polygamy.

101. For, though most of the local Hindus are monogamists in practice, only taking a second wife in the life-time of the first if the first has failed to bear him sons, it is a different

matter where remarriage of widows is common and especially when a younger brother of the deceased has a right to marry his widow. Statistics taken in a few selected places show that the percentage of men with two living wives in the total number of married men is 11; in Duki village, where not only the remarriage of widows but also bride-price, whether for virgins or widows is common, ten out of seventeen married men have two living wives, the second wife in eight of these ten cases being a remarried widow.

102. A third marriage is considered unlucky both for the man and the woman. In Kachhī

Third marriage.

And Sibi, if a man marries for the third time, he has to undergo, whether his first two wives are living or dead, a mock marriage ceremony with an ewe. On the wedding eve when the marriage procession is ready to start, the bridegroom mounts a mare accompanied by a Brahman. He goes out of the village to a *kanḍī* tree (*prosopis spicigera*) and cuts off a branch. And an ewe is brought and covered with a red cloth. The Brahman ties the ends of the bridegroom's *chādar* to the end of the red cloth placed over the ewe, and recites some Sanskrit verses, thus uniting the man in marriage to the ewe. The ewe is then let loose and may be carried off by anybody. This counts as the third marriage, the ill-luck of it being transferred to the ewe. The marriage procession then proceeds to the bride's house where the usual ceremonies are gone through, and this counts as the fourth and not unlucky marriage. In Quetta, Nasirābād, Lahṛī and other places, a bridegroom who is marrying a second or a third time after losing his first or the second, mounts a mare and is about to start for the bride's house, when a nose-bag filled with grain is put to his mouth with a warning: "*an charēn, sāl na charēn*" "you may eat the grain, but do not eat up your wife." With this solemn warning, which serves to ward off the evils of a second or third marriage from the bride, the marriage procession goes to the bride's house.

103. Though divorce is not recognised by Hindu Law, cases are not unknown when
 Divorce. wives have been cast off by their husbands for misconduct and have remarried under the same conditions as widows. The only bar is that the cast off woman must not marry her seducer. Two cases occurred recently in Dādhar in Kachhi; Choeth Rām gave up his wife Budi, who was subsequently married to Tōpa Mall, and Hira Mall's wife Kōki was married to Ātma Mall. Both of the couples are still living in Dādhar.

About six years ago, the wife of Lulla Drabla, a Hīndu of a Lahri, became *Sīāh*¹ with Kishna, Lulla. Kishna paid the husband Rs. 240 as compensation, and the woman was married to Ail Lulla. There have been two cases also among the domiciled Hindus of Quetta. Ishwar Kandahāri gave up his wife about 20 years ago, and she married a Panjābi; Ishwar, son of Shamo Kachhiwāl, cast off his wife in the beginning of 1911 and she was married to Thāria, a Hindu of Sanjāwī in Lōralai.

104. Whenever a Brahman or an Achāraj is available, the same ceremonies for the dead
 Death ceremonies. are observed as in Sindh and in the Derājāt, but slight local modifications have of necessity been introduced.

105. The ages up to which children of both sexes are buried and not cremated differ in
 Burial of children. various localities, but the general rule is that a boy who has not been invested with the sacrificial thread and a virgin under ten must be buried.

The maximum age up to which both boys and girls are buried are 2 years in Bēla, 3 years in Sibi and Bārkhān, 5 years in Kachhi, 6 years in Dēra Bugtī and Kahān, 7 years in Mastung and Kalāt, and 10 years in Duki. So it is only

¹ Illicit connection with a woman, unmarried, married, or widow is recognised by local custom both among Hindus and Musalmāns as adultery and is known as *Sīāh Kāri*.

the Bēla Hindus who seem to conform to the Shāstric¹ rule which allows the burial of children under the age of 2 years. The corpse is bathed, wrapped in a shroud, carried to the *maswān* (burning ground) and buried. In Bārkhān, an old woman of the family gives a pull to the shroud on the removal of the corpse from the house to signify that the child will soon re-appear in another birth. In Bēla, a piece of sugarcandy is placed in the right hand, and a copper pice in the left hand ; in Nasirābād some sweets are buried with the corpse. The mourning (*taḍḍa*) lasts for one day only, though according to Manu² the kindred are unclean for three.

106. When an adult is about to die, he is stripped of his clothes, bathed, wrapped in a *katha* (blanket), or other woollen clothing and placed on the ground, which has been smeared with cowdung, with the head to the north. A little syrup diluted with Ganges water is poured into his mouth, and a lighted lamp, made of dough and filled with ghī, is placed close to his head. His hand is then touched with a plate containing some grain, sugarcandy and a silver coin, which are given to a Brahman. This is called *Jam-ji-thāli*, or the plate of *yama*, the king of the unseen world.

The corpse is wrapped in a cotton shroud. The hair of a married woman is washed and plaited, and red thread inserted in the knot of her plaited hair (*gut*), vermilion is applied to her hair, and powdered charcoal to her eyes. Two ear-rings (*panṛā*) and the ivory bracelets (*chūṛa*) which she puts on on her wedding day, are all the jewels that are allowed to remain on her body. The corpse is carried by the principal mourners (*kāndhis*) to the *maswān*. If the husband intends to remarry, he will not accompany mourners. The corpse is cremated in the usual fashion, and the people return home. A hole is dug at the place

¹Manu V. 68.

²Manu V. 70.

where the head of the deceased rested, and an earthen lamp (*divā*) is kept burning in it day and night for nine days, when it is thrown into water. In Lahri, Dēra Bugṭi and Kahān, this lamp is only kept up for three days, being thrown into water on the fourth day.

On the fourth day (*chauthā*), the principal mourner, generally the eldest son of the deceased, and a few relations go to the *maswān* and collect the bones (*phul chunnā*). These ought by rights to be sent to the Ganges, but those who cannot afford the expense of the journey throw them into the Hari Sar in Shōran or some other stream they hold sacred (§ 19). They must not be collected on a Sunday, and if the fourth day happens to fall on a Sunday, the bones will be gathered on the third day.

The mourning lasts for ten days. On the tenth day (*dahāka*), and in some places on the 11th day, the *kiryā* or obsequies for the dead are performed when the *achāraj*, known in Sindh as the *kālō* or black Brahman, who performs the ceremonies for the dead, is given a bedstead, bedding, cooking pots and clothes, etc. (collectively known as the *khatti*) in the name of the deceased, the members of the family of the deceased bathe, wash their clothes and are ceremonially purified. On this day, after the lamp has been thrown into the water, the hole where the lamp rested for the nine days is levelled and covered with sand. And on the morrow, so we are told, the family can see foot-marks on the sand which mark the passage of the dead into another body. The Brahmins are usually fed on the twelfth day (known as *bāhrwān* or *achha*), in some places on the thirteenth day, and in Bārkhān on the seventeenth day. The annual *shrūdḥ* (feasting the Brahmins in the name of the deceased ancestors) is performed.

107. If a person die on a bedstead or on the roof of a house without the customary bath and without drinking the syrup (§ 106), or if he meet with an unnatural or violent death, he is considered *avgat* (one for

Ceremonies for those who die unnatural death.

whom the last rites have not been performed) and the members of his family will not, as a penance, sleep on a *charpoy*, drink milk, wash clothes, or shave, for 45 days (*panjtālā*) after the funeral ceremonies have been performed; nor during that period will others eat cooked food touched by any member of the deceased's family. On the expiry of the 45 days, the family feed a Brahman, give him a small present in cash, a loin cloth called *angōchhā*, a pair of shoes, a cap, a shirt, a cotton sheet, and a metal cup, and are thereby purified.

If a person die under the influence of certain stars (*panjuk*), a Brahman must be called in to offer prayers, and make three images of *kusha* grass, which are placed in the right armpit of the corpse. If this be not done, the family will shortly lose four more of its members to complete the number five.

108. The Atits of Las Bēla bury their dead of both sexes in a sitting posture, with both hands placed on the knee. In the grave (*smādhi*) are placed a hollowed pumpkin containing syrup, an image of a cow made of dough, 5 tolas of sugar, 5 tolas of clarified butter and 3 seers of salt. The grave is plastered over into a conical top. The Atits do not shave the head (*wal dīnra*) for their deceased.

109. With regard to the succession of sons and other male lineal descendants, they follow the ordinary tenets or Hindu Law; but the rights of females have been considerably modified, though in two different cases relating to inheritance, instituted in the Quetta Courts, the *panchāyat* comprising both Kachhiwāls and Taldārs, declared that there is no custom in vogue among them to override Hindu Law. In the one case the widow was allowed to retain a life-interest in the movable and immovable property of her husband who died without issue, and the claim of the collaterals to the possession of the property was rejected. In the second¹ case, a sister claimed

¹ Quetta Pishin Jirga case No. 170 of 1908.

possession of a one-third share of the estate of her brother who died without widow or issue. The deceased left three sisters, two of whom took possession of the whole property, and the *pañchāyat* of Kachhiwāls held that the plaintiff was entitled to one-third of the property. But a widow, whether with or without sons, is entitled to maintenance only, and that for only as long as she remains unmarried. In Duki she herself forms part of the property and is claimed by the relations of her deceased husband. Thus Pritam, son of Hazāri, a Kangar Arōra of Khāla Shahr, died leaving a childless widow Must. Wasi; Must. Wasi married Bāla Rām, son of Paṛas Rām, a Kathūriā Arōra of Nimki; Mōṭia, a cousin of Pritam, objected, and the case was referred to several *pañchāyats* of Hindus without any satisfactory decision being arrived at; the Duki *pañchāyat* insisted that Mōṭia was entitled to compensation for the widow; and eventually a compromise was effected by which Bāla Rām agreed to pay Mōṭia Rs. 100 within four months, and to give his three months old daughter by Must. Wasi, when of marriageable age, either to Mōṭia to marry himself or to give her in marriage to any other Kangar Arōra. Bāla Rām also returned to Mōṭia the ornaments, etc., which Must. Wasi had brought away from her deceased husband's property.

On remarriage a widow can ordinarily only take with her the clothes she is wearing and her nose-ring and ear-rings. But in some localities she also takes any clothes, ornaments and cooking pots that may have been presented to her by her parents on her wedding.

Unmarried daughters are also entitled to maintenance from their deceased father's estate. In Las Bēla, a husband may make a will in favour of a wife bestowing on her a portion of his estate, and she would, as a widow, be entitled to retain it. An instance is quoted of Kanun Mall who willed that on his death his property to the value of Rs. 2,000 was to be given to his widow; and his sons carried out his will after his death.

110. The Hindus residing in the administered area have, like the tribesmen, a cash value for the loss of honour, for murder, and for injuries ; instances in which they have followed the tribesmen in killing women for unchastity are very rare. In Khān Khudādād Khān's time, Ahlu Mal of Mastung killed a Hindu who committed *Siah Kāri*¹ with his widowed sister, and had to pay Rs. 2,000 as compensation for the murder to the heirs of the deceased. The compensation for adultery varies in different localities, being largely determined by the merits of the case. In Bārkhān it is 400 to 500 and in Lahṛī 250 ; the adulterer is ordinarily not allowed to marry the woman and live in the country. In 1906 a case came before the Kalāt State officials in which a married Arōṛa Hindu woman was accused of adultery. A *Jirga* consisting of one Hindu State Official, five members of the Lahṛī *panchāyat* and sixteen leading local Muhammadans, including the Dōmbki chief, awarded that (a) the accused should pay Rs. 250 to the complainant, (b) the complainant should give up the woman and (c) that the woman should return to her parents, who would give her in marriage to some one outside the limits of the Lahṛī *niābat*. When the *Jirga* award came before the Political Adviser he raised two important questions of principle : 1st. Was *siāhkāri* (adultery) recognised as an offence by the Hindu custom, and 2nd was it right to divorce the woman and to award compensation to the husband. This led to an interesting enquiry. Various *panchāyats* in the neighbourhood were consulted. The Lahṛī *panchāyat* held that they lived in the Dōmbki Balōch country and followed the Balōch custom, and cited two cases, in one of which the unchaste woman was killed by her brother and in other divorced, turned out of the country, while her seducer paid Rs. 300 as compensation to the husband. The Dhāḍar and the Bhāg *panchāyats* could cite no specific instance, but were averse to payment of compensation, and held that an unchaste woman should be cast off by her husband. The Gandāwah *panchāyat* held that in case of *siāhkāri* the man and the woman should be killed, and if they escaped death, the woman's head and the man's head and beard should be shaved and

¹ See section 103.

both turned out of the country. These opinions evidently led the Political Adviser to hold that the Hindus in matters of *siāhkāri* were governed by local custom and not by religious injunctions, and he confirmed the award of the first *Jirga*; the accused paid Rs. 250 as compensation to the husband; the woman was divorced, returned to her brother, and eventually married a Hindu of Lahri; and the parties effected a *rāsināmah* before the Sibi *Shāhi Jirga* of 1911 by which the first husband of Must. Lachmi withdrew his objection to the woman marrying and residing in Lahri. In a still more recent case¹, which came before a mixed *Jirga* of Sardārs and leaders of the Sani, Mithri and Dhāḍar *panchāyats*, it was held that Nechal Mall, son of Warya Mall of Sani, who killed his wife Must. Jatal for adultery with Sādhu Mall, son of Khēm Chand of Sani, was justified by the Brāhūi custom, and the *Jirga* awarded (according to the Brāhūi custom) that Sādhu Mall should pay Rs. 1,500 as compensation to Nechal Mall and Rs. 500 as a fine to Government. The Hindu members of the *Jirga*, however, considered it an act of disgrace to accept cash compensation, and decided that in lieu of the 1,500 awarded as compensation Sādhu Mall should give his daughter, sister, or any other girl belonging to his family to Nechal Mall in marriage or in default be imprisoned for five years. In the discussion of this case the Hindu members urged that the Brāhūi custom should be applied to them.

III. Among the Hindus themselves there seem to have been no cases of murder. The compensation for murder of a Hindu by a tribesman varies. In Bārkhān there have been two cases recently. For the murder of Gurditta of Hāji Kōt in their limits, the Marī Balōch had to pay Rs. 1,000 compensation; and the Khetrāns had to pay the same for the murder of Multāni, a Hindu of Chnhar Kōt. In both cases the actual murderers were not traced and tribal responsibility was enforced.

In two recent cases of murder which occurred in the Pishin Subdivision where the murderers could not be traced the inhabitants of the villages concerned were held responsible and made to pay compensation to the heirs.

¹ Kalāt case No. 27 of 1913.

APPENDIX

A LIST of *als* or sections of *Ārōras* found in Baluchistān.

- | | |
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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Achrō. 2. Adanī. 3. Ahūjā. 4. Badūjā. 5. Bāghzai. 6. Bajāz. 7. Bhath-thija. 8. Bhāṭiā. 9. Bhūsiyā. 10. Chānvrō. 11. Chānwalā. 12. Chāriopōtrā. 13. Chhābrā. 14. Chhābri. 15. Chhandā. 16. Chhug. 17. Chōt-Murād. 18. Chōṭlā. 19. Dahūjā. 20. Dang. 21. Dāvrā. 22. Dēmlā. 23. Dhīngṛā. 24. Dingā. 25. Drablā. 26. Gaṇṛēzai. 27. Garhuth. 28. Gērā. 29. Ghand. 30. Giddar. 31. Gōgiā. 32. Gēlā. 33. Gōirē. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 34. Hariāni. 35. Hatyā. 36. Hujā. 37. Jagrān. 38. Jaisinghzai. 38-a. Karēja. 39. Kālra. 40. Kamērō. 41. Kamrā. 42. Kasērā. 43. Kaṭāriā. 44. Kathūria. 45. Kauṛā. 46. Kauṛāzai. 47. Kēsāzai. 48. Khasar. 49. Khattar. 50. Khōria. 51. Khurānā. 52. Khuṭṭal. 53. Kirpālzai. 54. Kowriā. 55. Kukriyā. 56. Langhāra. 57. Lohāna. 58. Lōla. 59. Lulēja. 60. Lulla. 61. Lund. 62. Makar. 63. Makhējā. 64. Manchandā. 65. Mandan. |
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66. Matā.
67. Meran-rēn.
68. Mirg.
69. Muhriyā.
70. Muthijā.
71. Nag-dee.
72. Nāng.
73. Nāngiā.
74. Nāngrā.
75. Narang.
76. Nasa.
77. Pahāzai.
78. Pahuajā.
79. Panjābi.
80. Panjāzai.
81. Pānsia.
82. Pōpli.
83. Papri.
84. Parchhanda.
85. Paryāni.
86. Phērat.
87. Pōpalyā.
88. Pūjō.
89. Rachhpāl.
90. Rach-phatōni.

91. Rahijā.
92. Rakhējā.
93. Rāmēzai.
94. Sachdēv.
95. Sadānā.
96. Saprā.
97. Satijā.
98. Sewāhi.
99. Sawārēzai.
100. Stōpā.
101. Tadijā.
102. Talrā.
103. Tanējā.
104. Tangā.
105. Tārā.
106. Tēngar.
107. Thākur.
108. Tharēja.
109. Tījā.
110. Upargē.
111. Utrādi.
112. Vērwanī.
113. Vianrēja.
114. Wadwā.
115. Wirdav.

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